PUBLICATIONS
OF
THE NORWEGIAN-AMERICAN HISTORICAL
ASSOCIATION

STUDIES AND RECORDS

VOLUME IV

PUBLISHED BY THE
GIAN-AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

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PUBLICATIONS OF THE

NORWEGIAN-AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

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STUDIES AND RECORDS

Volume IV

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THE NORWEGIAN-AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

STUDIES AND RECORDS

VOLUME IV

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PREFACE

In the years past the historians of the Great Republic have sought diligently for some reasonably correct answer to the question: what was it that induced the immigrant to leave the old haunts and to seek a new home amid the hardships of the New World? The replies have been various and all, no doubt, contain a varying element of truth.

Important as this question is, it is only the first of a series that will have to be asked and answered, if one wishes to understand the great migration of the nineteenth century. There is also the story how the immigrant found his way into the West and the Northwest; the account of how he reached and founded his new home; the record of his achievements in the new land and in the new citizenship; and the question whether he has exerted any appreciable influence on the development of American life.

The membership of the Norwegian-American Historical Association is interested in all these questions and the present volume of its publications deals with important phases of all of them. Professor Stephenson presents the results of a study of the sources which show what motives led to migration in the Northern lands and discusses the mentality and the outlook of the men and women who made up the bulk of the migrating hosts. Dr. Henrietta Larson contributes a contemporary account of a tragic occurrence on Lake Erie which brings vividly before us the hardships and the perils that beset the wandering alien on his long journey.

Miss Larson's contribution has a further interest in that it adds another document to the growing body of sources for American history in the wider sense. The same holds true of the letters edited by Professor Hovde and of the narrative of a journey overland to California in 1852 (translated by Einar Haugen), both of which contributions serve to illustrate important developments in the making of the Republic.

That the alien was not immediately lost in the new environment is shown convincingly in Dr. Schafer's paper; on the contrary he often stamped the new localities with his own ideas of what a beautiful and satisfying life ought to be. But this effort to adjust Old World conceptions to New World conditions was not always achieved with the same easy success, as is abundantly shown by Miss Karen Larsen's study of the effort to make such an adjustment in the case of President Laur. Larsen, who is still well known to our membership as one of the outstanding intellectual leaders of his people in pioneer times.

It may seem a far cry from Laur. Larsen to Elling Eielsen, but the distance may not be so great after all. They both sought, each in his own way, to transplant to the Western prairies what seemed to be the best and the most essential in the religious system of the North. The sources for the history of church and religion in the new Norwegian communities in the decades before the Civil War are not plentiful; it is therefore with a feeling of real satisfaction that the editors have included the *Report* of the annual meeting held by Eielsen's "Friends" in 1854. The story how this document was found is told by Professor Rohne in his editorial introduction. Inasmuch as this *Report* is unique as well as important, it has been thought wise to print it in the original as well as in translated form.

Mr. Swansen's paper, while dealing more directly with Old World affairs, is also concerned with our own history both as an immigrant group and as American citizens. The question whether our government should take early note of the political situation that suddenly appeared in the North in 1905 was of great interest to all Scandinavian-Americans and an objective study like the one contributed by Mr. Swansen will be a welcome addition to the literature of the subject.

LAURENCE M. LARSON

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STUDIES AND RECORDS

VOLUME IV

THE ADJUSTMENT OF A PIONEER PASTOR TO AMERICAN CONDITIONS

Laur. Larsen, 1857–1880

By Karen Larsen

It is a truism to say that the Norwegian pioneer pastors, though numerically a small group, were a vitally significant element which the student of the Norwegian movement into the West cannot afford to neglect. How they grappled with the many problems of adjustment to their new life furnishes a subject for study which, though elusive, is fascinating and rich in possibilities. This article is merely an attempt to tell a little of how one young man of this group met some of the many problems that faced him during the years when (1857–1880) he was finding his place in the country of his adoption. While by no means exhaustive, it may serve to throw some light on the life of the man who, as the first president of Luther College (1861–1902), later filled a unique place among Norwegian-Americans, and it may also be of some interest as a slight contribution to the study of the broader topic that has been indicated above.

On November 2, 1857, Laur. Larsen with his wife and little child arrived at the yet unfinished parsonage of Rush River, Wisconsin. Here the city-bred young people had to learn to live under pioneer conditions. Here, too, he and his family had to identify themselves with a rural community consisting of people from a class in the mother country with which they had had no contact. Moreover, the inexperienced young pastor — only twenty-four years old — trained in a state church, had to find an answer to the many questions that arose in connection with the development of congregational life and organization among people who had, so to speak, been torn loose from their moorings and who must be trained to use their newly acquired freedom from the restraints of a

state church. On these personal and local problems which Larsen met with the vital interest and fearless audacity characteristic of the youthful pioneer, and also, at times, with a deliberate astuteness that belied his years, we are, however, not going to dwell.

Hardly had he settled before the young newcomer subscribed for the periodicals that he considered most necessary to prepare him for his new life. They are indicative of his future development; and, as his books were stored in Prairie du Chien awaiting the opening of river traffic in the spring, his mental pabulum during the first winter in America was almost exclusively confined to his three periodicals. From *Lehre und Wehre* he absorbed the theology of the German Lutheran Missouri Synod and became acquainted with that body, which was later to influence him to a degree which at this time he considered impossible. A meticulous reading of the *New York Tribune* introduced him to American life and institutions and gave him a fair mastery of the English language. English had not been included among the eight languages of his school curriculum, so his instruction in it had been confined to a few private lessons. Though it always remained a foreign language to him, he soon learned to read it with ease, to write it with remarkable accuracy, and to speak it sufficiently well for all practical every-day purposes. Through the third, *Maanedstidende*, the official organ of the Norwegian Synod, he learned to know the church body with which he was to identify himself throughout his life.

The key to Larsen's whole life must be found in his devotion to his church. His dominating passion was the spread of the gospel in what he considered its unadulterated purity. His mission and that of his coworkers was, as he saw it, to lead in the establishment of a church which, while perpetuating the liturgy and usages of the mother church, should be organized on the democratic principles of a Lutheran free church. Above all it must preserve the gospel in its purity and spread the blessing of it to as many people as possible.

In this light we can understand his surprisingly liberal attitude toward the problem with which this paper is largely concerned, the much discussed language question. He had emigrated at a time when national enthusiasm ran high in Norway. He had been intensely patriotic in his student days and came from a social class that was not only indifferent to emigration but hostile to it. "To go to America," he said later, "I considered almost treason to my country." Yet less than two years afterwards, as he was trying to persuade other theologians to come to the rescue of the pioneer church, he wrote:

> As for me, I have seen so much of conditions here that I would not on any account wish that I had remained in my fatherland; for the fatherland of the theologian is the Church; a disciple of the Lord does not, after the fashion of the Jews, ask about blood and descent; but obedient to Matthew 28:19,[1] he considers only where he can do the most work, where he is most needed. And besides, the theologians of Norway were not so especially Norwegian when I knew them: How many of them for example had any sympathy for that development of the language on which the best patriots of the country were working?

Larsen came to America imbued also with a deep enthusiasm for Pan-Scandinavianism. With many others, he had believed that with the growing distrust of Germany and the softening of the prejudices between the Scandinavian neighbors, a closer bond between the churches of the three countries might be possible. As he saw that the inflexibility of conditions at home made this highly improbable, he had looked across the waters with the expectation that under the plastic condition of the new world this dream might become a reality.[2] In 1858 he wrote:

> A union in church affairs among Scandinavians over here has always stood before me as a beautiful ideal, whereby, among other things, we might raise a potent defense against a too strong influence from the Germans. . . . The language does not separate

[1] "Go ye therefore and teach all nations."

[2] Laurentius Larsen, "Skandinavisk-lutherske Menigheder," in *Kirkelig Maanedstidende*, 4:47 (March and April, 1859).

them even now and will do so less in the future, as the Scandinavians no doubt will adopt the language of their new country much more rapidly than the far more numerous Germans.[3]

The hope of seeing any general coöperation among the Scandinavian church bodies Larsen regretfully abandoned when he realized that the one union formed between Lutherans of different races[4] had been achieved, as he says, "at the expense, unfortunately, of the old faith of our fathers and our beautiful church ritual."[5] He persisted in believing, however, that it was possible to form Scandinavian Lutheran congregations and that, given the true basis for fellowship, unity in faith, lesser differences might be ironed out:

> National hatred and national prejudices must not even be mentioned among us. They are unchristian in themselves and simply ludicrous in this country, as all nationalities here must after all finally be assimilated into the English American. But the pure doctrine shall not be absorbed into any kind of American system. That shall stand though heaven and earth vanish and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. That is an inheritance of which we must not relinquish the smallest iota, even though we forget the language and customs of our fathers.[6]

With hopeful optimism, yet with full appreciation of the difficulties involved, the young pioneer made use of every opportunity to build up Scandinavian congregations or at least to further coöperation in church matters between Swedes and Norwegians. His greatest achievement, small though it was, was the congregation in St. Paul; but even this was destined to fail ultimately. Other attempts at coöperation, such as at Carver and Red Wing and later at St. Louis, were also doomed to failure. Another dream vanished. The common people could not be expected to possess his objectivity of mind or to

[3] Larsen, "Prestekald i Amerika," in *Norsk Kirketidende*, 1858, p. 610.

[4] That is, the Illinois Synod. This experiment failed. In 1860 the Scandinavians withdrew, forming the Augustana Synod, and in 1870 the Norwegians separated from the Swedes, though not for doctrinal reasons.

[5] Larsen, "Skandinavisk-lutherske Menigheder," in *Kirkelig Maanedstidende*, 4:47.

[6] Larsen, "Skandinavisk-lutherske Menigheder," in *Kirkelig Maanedstidende*, 4:54.

accept unquestioningly the absolute line which he drew between principle and prejudice. Thus influences were at work which were narrowing down the sphere of his activity to the people of his own race.

Yet the youthful pastor had not lost his capacity for visions. As has already been noticed, he, like many others, at this time looked upon the absorption of the Norwegian immigrants into the American people as a matter of course and as an event of the near future. His first contact with the language problem among his own countrymen is connected with an incident in his life which may be worth relating. In 1859 he went to St. Louis as the representative of his church on the faculty of the theological seminary of the Missouri Synod. While here, his attention was called to some isolated Norwegian settlements in Missouri and Kansas near St. Joseph, and his offer to visit them during the Easter holidays of 1860 met with an eager response. Accordingly he boarded a long train of day coaches crowded with "Pike's-Peakers" and set out on a weary journey across the whole breadth of the state. The success of his trip promised much for the future. Congregations were formed, catechetical classes organized, and books of religious instruction ordered, notably nine copies of the catechism in the Norwegian language and twenty-two in English.

"From the relative number of English and Norwegian books," he writes in his official report, "we can see in what language the young people are most at home. For my part, I should of course have preferred to carry on all the instruction in the language with which I am most familiar, namely my mother tongue; but on the other hand it is beautiful that the pure word of God is spread in the language which the great mass of this nation speaks." By thus sharing their spiritual heritage, he thought, the immigrants might repay the debt of gratitude which they owed to this country for the rich temporal blessing it had bestowed upon them.[7] The

[7] Larsen, "Menigheder i Missouri og Kansas," in *Kirkelig Maanedstidende*, 5: 172 (June, 1860).

pioneer church, however, proved unable to follow up the work he had begun. It was inevitable, perhaps, that it had to concentrate on work in the Norwegian language and in the more accessible communities.

From the sixties and seventies we have a surprisingly large number of expressions on the language question and on Americanization in general. In 1859, the pastors in reply to accusations that they opposed Americanization, issued a declaration denying the charge. In commenting on this document, Larsen says that attempts to prevent Americanization would be as useless as unnatural; but, he adds, the Lutheran faith must be kept "uncontaminated by American sects" and "we must not be too quick to imitate everything American before we have tried whether it is better than our own."[8] While his theories remain fundamentally the same throughout the period, there is a change in the tone of his utterances. Perhaps his most characteristic and sober expression on the problem is an editorial written at the time of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the church body to which he belonged. Primarily he emphasizes the mission of the Lutheran church to be a salt in this land so rich in temporal blessings but poor in things of the spirit.

> Let not indolence or false modesty [he continues] bring us to bury our talent in the earth. The Americanization of our people is bringing many dangers in its wake and will not be accomplished without spiritual losses and perhaps much injury to the soul life of many. It is, however, inevitable and it would be unwise to work against it. And on the other hand, if rightly guided, it can bring with it a blessing which it is for us to grasp and hold fast before the acceptable time, which will soon vanish, is gone. Through this, good may come to us ourselves and we can do good, — especially by means of that most costly of all jewels, the Word of God which is intrusted to us.[9]

[8] *Kirkelig Maanedstidende*, 5:50–51 (February, 1860).

[9] *Kirketidende*, 5:23 (January 11, 1878). In addition to his many other duties, Larsen was entrusted with those of editor-in-chief of the church organ from 1868 to 1889, and again after his resignation as college president in 1902.

In 1861, Larsen became the president of the embryo college that was being started by the Norwegian Synod, but not till four years later, when Luther College had moved into its permanent home, was he able even to begin to work out any educational policy of his own. That he felt the need of some knowledge of American institutions is shown by the fact that in 1866 he made a visit to several universities and colleges, going as far east as Ann Arbor. While keenly observant and not unwilling to learn, especially in things of a practical nature, his letters and reports indicate that he was almost distrustful of the foreign ways and methods with which he for the first time came into close contact. At one college which had been pointed out to him as very "radical" he was particularly ill at ease. Here he found embodied the very "pinnacle of Yankee humbug and conceit." During his nine years in America, he had been so closely confined to the little circle of his own countrymen that he felt like a complete stranger among the "Yankees,"—and this word, as he used it, always had a slightly derogatory connotation. Yet the trip was not without significance. It may be taken as the first step in the slow evolution of Luther College from a European Latin school into an American college.

With regard to the whole process of adapting the college to the needs of its constituency and at the same time giving it a standing among the institutions of the land, the first president followed a course which was subject to attacks from both sides. Especially from the laity came not a few demands for a more rapid introduction of the English language than the head of the college found advisable or even possible. In 1866, the college added to the faculty its first member who had been trained in America and whose chief duty was to teach English. Far from satisfying the demand, this appointment of Knut E. Berg probably stimulated the interest in English, for his sound scholarship, his enthusiasm, and his winning personality made the subjects he taught extremely

popular. More than once the president found it necessary to defend his conservatism with regard to the expansion of the study of English. Financial difficulties always made any increased expense almost impossible, and the course was already so crowded that new subjects could be added only at the expense of thoroughness, a virtue highly prized by the first president of Luther College. His chief argument, however, was that the main purpose of the college, to which all other interests must be subordinated, was to prepare pastors for work among the Norwegian immigrants. It is interesting to notice that while in 1858 he believed that the assimilation of the Norwegian immigrants into the English speaking population would be a matter of but a few years, ten years later he was convinced that Norwegian would for many years continue to be the language of church services. In 1868 he wrote:

> Only a few of our countrymen as yet understand an English sermon or an English article of a more serious content, and although they show a praiseworthy eagerness to learn the language of this country, still it seems as though the Norwegian nationality and the Norwegian language have lately been more honored and respected than they were a few years ago, when everyone who wanted to be a little above the ordinary among the Norwegians here thought it necessary to be ashamed of everything that suggested his old fatherland.[10]

This change, I believe, cannot be laid to any general growth in conservatism, but rather to a recognition of conditions as they were. In fact, though he was never fanatic in his devotion to his mother tongue, he came more and more to believe that the spiritual and cultural heritage of the immigrants must for a long time be preserved through the medium of their mother tongue and that efforts were necessary to keep fresh the interest in Norwegian.

While he was criticized, as we have noticed, for being too conservative in his attitude towards the use of the English

[10] Larsen, "Det Norske Luther College i Decorah," in *Kirkelig Maanedstidende*, 13: 104 (April, 1868).

language, every step in Americanizing the college, however moderate, met with some opposition from the older pastors, who were, so far as the writer knows, without exception more conservative than the president of the college. His most serious bout with them came at the close of the period under consideration. He proposed that the curriculum be divided into a preparatory and a collegiate department and that the college course proper be lengthened to four years in order to comply with American standards. With tenacity and some show of feeling, he finally put through the plan with the aid of the younger element in the church. When one of his friends tried to smooth his ruffled feelings by commending the persistence of his opponents as a quality which after all was very admirable, he replied sententiously, "Det er godt at være stø, men ikke sta." (It is good to be steadfast, but not stubborn.)

In spite of this and other changes that were in conformity with American institutions, in the usually accepted sense of the word, Luther College in the sixties and seventies was certainly not an American college. The language of instruction and even of the playground was Norwegian and the little community was isolated — one might almost say insulated — from direct contact with the greater currents of American life. The reading of newspapers was not encouraged, for the authorities held the now obsolete theory that the attention of college boys should be concentrated on their lessons. On the other hand, to speak of it as a "little Norway," as has so often been done, is also quite far from the absolute truth, for it was unlike anything that could be found in the Old World. The students, coming as a rule from the pioneer farms, belonged to a social group whose cousins in Norway were not yet thronging the halls of the institutions of higher learning, and they were intensely American in loyalty. The cultural life of the majority of the faculty on the other hand had its roots in the land across the sea. The little college family was a very self-conscious group which felt that it was

a "peculiar people" with a special mission to perform and with a character all its own. It was Norwegian-American. As far as any one man can be said to have put his stamp on the community it was the president of the college. Though he found it necessary to "find a balance between the ideal and the practical" it embodied as nearly as could be done, his ideas of the proper relations of the immigrant to the land of his fathers and to the country of his adoption. To what extent a man like Professor Larsen could feel that he was really an American is an interesting question which is not easily answered. In all probability, he had, at the time of his emigration, no definite idea of remaining in America for life; but very soon he became so thoroughly convinced of the importance of his work here that every thought of giving it up vanished. An expression to that effect from 1858 has already been quoted. He shared the opinion of the Synod pastors who in 1862 passed a resolution of censure of a colleague who was resigning to return to Norway and branded his decision as a "great sin." I have found only one expression to the effect that he wished himself "home" in Norway, and that is in a letter to his wife written under the spell of a period of abnormal depression. He appreciated keenly the opportunities that the West especially offered to the immigrants: the economic openings, the social democracy which obliterated the class distinctions of the Old World and dignified the most "menial" labor, and above all, the liberty to develop unhampered their own institutions, their own church. He dreamed of glorious possibilities for the future. He was a strong individualist and, in his political predilections, a Jeffersonian.

Nevertheless he might have had difficulty in qualifying as a "hundred per-cent American." We must remember that his development during this period took place against the background of the Civil War and the critical years immediately before and after it. The great events that shook the nation

seemed in a way remote to him, in spite of their tremendous influence on his life and work. The jingoistic patriotism that was rather expected of a loyal citizen found no response in him. With his pronounced individualism he naturally had a great deal of sympathy for the principle of states rights and doubted the justifiability of the appeal to force; his attitude on the slavery question drove him, against his better judgment, into a bitter controversy, which, as he knew best, was hampering his work and plans; and while the rank and file of the Norwegian-Americans were vigorous, sometimes even rabid, Republicans, he was a Democrat. In spite of his severe condemnation of any opposition to legally constituted authorities, as expressed for example in his speech on the occasion of Lincoln's assassination, and in spite of a scrupulous fulfilment of his duties as a citizen, it is not strange that at this time he was never able to free himself entirely from the suspicion of disloyalty. Probably the experiences of these days, which, the writer believes, always remained with him as a bitter memory, tended to dampen any patriotic ardor that he might have developed. Thus he did not take out his naturalization papers till the eighties.

On the other hand, it was not long before Professor Larsen began to feel that he was becoming estranged from Norway. In 1860 he was sent to Norway to win ministers for the cause of the American church. When his mission did not meet with the enthusiasm that he felt it merited, his boundless zeal led him to express himself with an impatient vigor that roused sharp criticism and even antagonism. He dogmatically condemned the latitudinarianism of the Norwegian theologians, while they found in his positive orthodoxy youthful cocksureness and danger of intellectual tyranny. He departed feeling that in a sense he had lost his mother country and that the pioneers were thrown back wholly upon their own resources. Larsen's experience is by no means unique. Ottesen, for example, regretted that on his visit to Norway

he found no one but his own father who was in sympathy with him, and Koren longed to be back at the arduous work on the frontier: "I don't especially thrive on this 'Schlaraffen life,' and in spite of all the courtesy which we meet everywhere, I feel that I am a stranger." And so the women too, as one of them expressed it, longed for "the very life and atmosphere over there." The reader may perhaps wish to discount a little the quotation which follows, when told that it is derived from a letter to Larsen from his wife, who was in Norway on account of serious illness, yet it is not without significance:

> It is useless to try to tell you how much I long for you, for my home, to go to church, to associate with like-minded friends, in short for everything over there. . . .
>
> Not for anything would I be forced to live in Norway, least of all . . . in Bergen. . . . No, it is tiresome here, dead and dull and petty, — desperately petty. . . . It is beautiful here in Norway, but I have never felt so much as I do now how little one can live, spiritually speaking, on the beauties of nature. Even though I may be together with people who appreciate the beauty of nature, we look at it so differently; few think of God's almighty power and grace as they look at nature. Yes, the pride which so-called cultured people here feel in their beautiful country is almost laughable. It is as though they had created it or at least had some of the credit for it.

In a sense, Larsen like many another pioneer, was a stranger both here and in the land of his birth. Yet it cannot be said that he felt like "the man without a country." He believed that in building up their own communities and institutions on the virgin soil of the frontier, the new Americans were able to combine the best from both countries. Thus also in the family life.

In spite of a certain estrangement from their mother country which has been mentioned and which Larsen and his wife felt very keenly, it is but natural that an aura of romance should gradually envelop the home of their youth and the land to which they owed all their spiritual and cultural possessions. Letters — and this generation were past masters

in the gentle art of letter writing — a little stream, hardly more than a trickle, of new arrivals, and visits to Norway, kept the contacts fresh. Every one who made a trip across the ocean went laden with parcels, commissions and greetings. Anyone who needed a complete rest from the strenuous life in America or who was in search of more medical aid than the frontier could offer had no recourse but a trip to Norway. In the sixties or early seventies, most of the ministers' families braved the difficulties and hardships of a trip back "home." Thus when Larsen's wife became ill, the last tragic effort to win her back to health was such a journey. A few years later, as daughters grew up in the frontier parsonages, if it was possible, if for example a kindly fortune bestowed upon them a little sum of money in the shape of an inheritance, they were sent "home," as there was no other "finishing school" at their disposal. As the gulf between the old and the new communities widened, however, these ventures became less frequent.

The life in the frontier parsonages, and in Larsen's home as well, was necessarily largely Norwegian. They were little centers of culture and refinement in the midst of the crudities of the frontier, maintained through the brave efforts of the women. The language in these homes was Norwegian, of course. The cultural interests of these home-makers, their music, the arrangement of their houses, their needlework and their cooking, all bore the stamp of the little country across the seas. As time went on, it seems, the instinct for preserving and guarding their heritage grew strong and articulate. In this there was at first, at least, no intentional rejection of things American. With the best that America might have offered they had no contact. It was entirely unknown to them. The finer things in life had to be nourished from the springs in the home of their birth or disappear entirely. The pioneer ministers' families simply continued the only kind of "higher life" that was possible for them.

Yet their life was far from a copy of anything found in the old country. The conditions of the frontier with its privations, its isolation, and its taxing demands on the physical strength of people unaccustomed to hard manual labor left its stamp. There was also something new in the spirit that imbued the Norwegian-American parsonages. They, too, were influenced by the pulsating life and the vigorous optimism of a new country. Here, too, was felt the democratic spirit of the frontier. They were closely bound to and identified with the little immigrant communities in which they lived. Moreover their missionary spirit gave tone to their whole life. "It must be beautiful," wrote a relative in Norway wistfully, "to live with God all the time as you do over in America." These homes made a unique contribution to Norwegian-American life and civilization.

By 1880 the generation to which Professor Larsen belongs had not only become thoroughly rooted in the soil of the Middle West, but had built up a community life with institutions all its own, expressing very definite ideals and principles. Larsen's contribution to this achievement had been by no means insignificant, and perhaps this was the time of his life when he took the greatest satisfaction in his own work and the accomplishments of his countrymen. In the effort to build institutions to conserve old spiritual and cultural values, his life had been closely identified with his own little racial group. There had been neither time nor opportunity nor perhaps even inclination to broaden his own intellectual interests. While he had not entirely lost sight of the assimilation that would take place in the future, the consummation of this process still seemed as distant as ever and he had no desire to hasten its approach.

REPORT OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE HAUGEAN CHURCHES HELD AT LISBON, ILLINOIS, IN JUNE, 1854

Translated and Edited by J. Magnus Rohne

INTRODUCTION

It is an axiom in history that an historian must have sources. Of late certain agencies, among them the Norwegian-American Historical Association, have been actively engaged in bringing to light new sources and in making older sources more accessible. These two phases of the work are really two sides of the same shield, with the preponderance of importance verging first to one side, then to the other. The reprint and translation of the *Report* of 1854, herewith offered, is in part a recovery or re-discovery of a relatively rare document. Though the existence of this little book has been known among a small group of former Hauge's Synod men, the present reprint and translation have been made in order to give this important document the wider circulation that it deserves.

That there is a real demand for just this document can be proved by the writer's personal experience; others have perhaps felt the need just as keenly. In a recent article the writer called attention to the deplorable lack of source material relating to the early history of Hauge's Synod.[1] N. N. Rønning in his history of Red Wing Seminary[2] refers to a meeting at Lisbon, Illinois, in 1854; but an article by P. A. Rasmussen in *Der Lutheraner*, October 23, 1855, contradicts Mr. Rønning's statement in regard to the date of the founding of the

[1] See J. Magnus Rohne, "The Value of Church Records," in Norwegian-American Historical Association, Studies and Records, 3:76 (Northfield, Minnesota, 1928).

[2] *Festskrift udgivet i Anledning af Red Wing Seminariums Femogtyve Aars Jubilæum*, 7 (Red Wing, Minnesota, 1904).

school which that convention is supposed to have established.[3] This leaves the historian in a quandary. Where did Mr. Rønning procure his information? If such a meeting was actually held, is there a report of it in existence? When Rasmussen began to publish his *Kirkelig Tidende* in 1856 he immediately printed a full report of the meeting of Eielsen's group in 1855; but there is no reference to a meeting in 1854.

In his perplexity the writer took the matter up with his good friend and colleague, Professor K. O. Eittreim of the Luther College faculty. Professor Eittreim stoutly maintained that there was a *Report* for 1854, — in fact he declared that he possessed a copy, which he would in due time recover, once he had a chance to unpack his books in his new home. There the matter rested until one day Professor Eittreim walked into the writer's office with a book in his hand and a smile on his face: he had found the lost *Report* of 1854!

Professor Eittreim has kindly permitted the old though well-preserved copy to go through the wear and tear incident to a translation, and the writer is trying to make it accessible to larger circles by the reprint and the translation which is herewith published. Incidentally it may be added that Professor Eittreim has also recovered a copy of the *Report* of 1855, which, it is hoped, will in due time be made available in an English version by the agency of this Association.

Like every other piece of literature, this pamphlet must be judged, as the theologians would say, in the light of its context, that is, in the light of other literature in the same field. The fact that there is so very little of this related literature enhances the value of the book immensely. Elling Eielson cared little for the "fussy" protocols and minutes so dear to the "educated" clergyman. He is reported to have said on one occasion: "I have nowhere read that Christ kept a protocol when he traveled about and conducted meetings for

[3] See Rohne, *Norwegian American Lutheranism up to 1872*, 186 (New York, 1926).

the people."[4] Because of this attitude, no record was kept of the most significant church meeting that has ever been held among the Norwegian Lutherans in America: Eielsen's meeting in 1846 when he organized the first Norwegian Lutheran Synod in this new land. Not a word directly! All we have is a short letter of 1848 with a vague and indefinite reference to the momentous transactions of 1846 — Ole Andrewsen's letter of 1848 — then silence! Now that great silence, which virtually stretches from Eielsen's arrival in America in 1839 until the meeting at Lisbon, Illinois, in 1854, is officially terminated by the reappearance of this *Report* of 1854. May there be some one among the readers of these lines who can devise means of breaking that silence in many other ways!

With the information contained in this *Report* and with the help of P. A. Rasmussen's *Kirkelig Tidende* (1856–1862),[5] the historian will be able to piece together a fairly complete record of church developments in Haugean circles in the fifties. Unfortunately very little in the way of official documents stating Eielsen's side of any question has survived or has ever existed. The historian, therefore, has to face the necessity of conjecturing what Eielsen's position may have been. Anyone can appreciate the dangers lurking in this situation not only to Eielsen and his opponents but more especially to the historian who is to conjure a statement of Eielsen's views out of stark silence, while at the same time his opponents were distinctly vocal. The recovery of this *Report* is, therefore, a matter that should be of real interest in all Norwegian-American circles.

[4] Rohne, *Norwegian American Lutheranism*, 96. See also Thrond J. Bothne's "Kort Udsigt over det Lutherske Kirkearbeide blandt Nordmændene i Amerika," appended to Hallvard G. Heggtveit, *Illustreret Kirkehistorie*, 834 (Chicago, Takla, 1898).

[5] It has been generally supposed that this paper was discontinued in 1861; but quite fortuitously it was discovered that there is in the Luther College archives a complete file of the paper for 1862.

The *Report* is a pamphlet of twelve pages, seven of which are devoted to the Lisbon meeting, and three to a personal admonition by the Reverend P. A. Rasmussen; of the other two, one is the title page, the other a blank. In spite of its diminutive size, the document contains a great deal of information. At the outset we are told that E. Eielsen was elected chairman of the meeting and P. A. Rasmussen secretary. This raises at once the question as to how and when officers were elected in Eielsen's group: were they elected annually like the moderators of the Presbyterian church, and what were their duties aside from their functions at the meetings, which from this time on were held somewhat regularly?

There was a lengthy discussion of the need of pastors, particularly in Iowa, seeing that the people in those parts "could not be satisfied with the pastors who were available, on account of greater or lesser deviations from the pure Lutheran doctrine." These early Haugeans express genuine concern for the preservation of the "pure, sound doctrine." This has its historic interest, as it was the Norwegian Synod which later had to bear some odium for being too much concerned about the "pure doctrine." One also wonders who the pastors were who deviated from the "pure Lutheran doctrine." Several possibilities suggest themselves. If the pastor or pastors in question were Lutheran, the most likely possibility is C. L. Clausen, as his field of labor radiated from St. Ansgar, Iowa, through north and central Iowa and southern Minnesota, where these Ellingians were settling in large numbers. If Clausen ever made any approaches to the members of Eielsen's group, he was sure to be rebuffed, as Eielsen had roundly denounced him as a Grundtvigian errorist. Another possibility is Nils Brandt, whose work was largely restricted to eastern Iowa, where there also were a few Haugeans, but it seems that Elling Eielsen at least on one occasion approved of Reverend Nils Brandt's preaching.[5a] Both these

[5a] "Pastor Nils Brandt's Erindringer fra Aarene 1851 til 1855," dictated to Reverend Adolf Bredesen, in *Symra*, 1907, p. 108 (Decorah).

pastors began their labors in Iowa in 1851. Somewhat too late to draw the fire of the Ellingian group is V. Koren, who arrived at Washington Prairie, near Decorah, Iowa, on December 23, 1853. He could hardly have made any impression one way or the other by June, 1854. One guess is as good as another, of course; but it is quite evident that the Haugeans of Eielsen's group were not satisfied with the pastors then available in Iowa.

The *Report* also throws light on the strange case of the Reverend H. L. Thalberg, who has denied that the Eielsen group was instrumental in inducing him to come to America.[6] Certainly efforts were made by the convention of 1854 to persuade Thalberg to come to America, though these efforts may not have been altogether the deciding influence in Thalberg's mind.

The moment of greatest historic interest at the convention was when Elling Eielsen arose to move that a seminary be established.[7] This school was indeed established at Lisbon, Illinois; but it survived only long enough to get a place in history as the first educational venture of its kind among Norwegians in America.[8]

Another point of great historic interest is P. A. Rasmussen's persistent work for the purchase of a printing press; his last word in the matter was that he hoped that there would be enough money for his project even after the synod had bought the property for the seminary. Rasmussen did receive his press and with it published some books, including Johan Arndt's *True Christianity*, and a paper called *Kirkelig Tidende*. This paper, evidently patterned after Olaus Nielsen's paper by the same name published at Fredrikshald, Norway, appeared from 1856 to 1862.

[6] *Kirkelig Maanedstidende*, 1859, p. 182. See also Rohne, *Norwegian American Lutheranism*, 188, and Ronning, *Red Wing Seminariums Festskrift*, 12.

[7] The fact that Eielsen was the chairman of the meeting apparently did not deter him from making motions even when he presided.

[8] See Rohne, *Norwegian American Lutheranism*, 185 ff.

Rasmussen's attack on Eielsen's "Old Constitution" is also of great historic interest. This is apparently the first of a long series of such attacks. Though Eielsen seemingly acquiesced in all that was urged against his beloved Constitution, he hesitated at the last moment in 1856, as he did later, in 1875, and thereby caused a breach in the brotherhood. Rasmussen and Eielsen parted company in 1856, largely because of the warfare that Rasmussen was conducting in his *Kirkelig Tidende* against Eielsen's Old Constitution. The split also brought on the collapse of the Lisbon school, after it had been in operation for less than a year.

Eielsen suffered many schisms in his church; the most serious were that of 1848, when Ole Andrewsen, Paul Anderson, and O. J. Hatlestad left him; that of 1856, when Rasmussen and Thalberg left him, taking the Lisbon church and other important congregations with them; and that of 1875, when the organizers of the Hauge's Synod left him. Eielsen's strength lay in his personal work; as an organizer and a churchman he was markedly deficient. Somehow, the intricacies of motions and protocols and church machinery bewildered him. For instance in 1875 he agreed to changes in the Old Constitution and yet proceeded to organize a small group on the basis of the unrevised Old Constitution, by which act he severed his connection with Hauge's Synod. He did essentially the same thing in 1856, though we read in the *Report* of 1854 that he agreed to the changes and was willing to serve on a committee which should prepare the changes. In explanation of his strange action in 1875 it has been charitably said that: "By this time Eielsen was growing old and did not seem to realize the import of all that was taking place."[9] But what shall the historian who wishes to be just as well as charitable say in explanation of his very similar action of 1854 to 1856? Can it be true that Eielsen was

[9] G. M. Bruce, "The Hauge's Synod," in Juergen L. Neve, *Brief History of the Lutheran Church in America*, 392 (Burlington, Iowa, 1916).

bewildered by these larger meetings so that he, in 1854 and 1856, "did not seem to realize the import of all that was taking place"? In 1856 he was at any rate in the very prime of life. This is no reflection on Eielsen; he made no pretense at being anything more than a personal evangelist. In his own words, he "puttered in a small way"[10] with the Gospel. Eielsen was a remarkable man: remarkable in his wonderful strength, persistence, personal magnetism, and consecration to Christ; remarkable also in his many idiosyncracies and shortcomings.[11]

Peter Andreas Rasmussen, more commonly known as P. A. Rasmussen, came to America in 1850 at the age of twenty-one. Having had a fair common school education in Norway, Rasmussen planned to become a teacher in America. He perhaps intended to join the Norwegian Synod group, but by accident met Eielsen and joined him. He secured a position as teacher at Lisbon, Illinois, in 1851, and gave such satisfaction that the people there (in 1853) urged him to become their pastor. In order to prepare himself for this holy calling, he went to Fort Wayne, Indiana, where Dr. Wm. Sihler was conducting a so-called "practical" theological seminary for men whose education did not qualify them for studying the Scriptures in the original languages. After a year at Fort Wayne, Rasmussen was ordained (in 1854) in time evidently to return to Lisbon for the meeting in June. Rasmussen left Eielsen in

[10] "Eg bare putla saa smaat." Rasmus B. Anderson, *First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration (1821–1840), Its Causes and Results*, 414 (Madison, Wisconsin, second edition, 1896).

[11] Biographies of Elling Eielsen are found in Chr. O. Brohaugh and I. Eistensen, *Kortfattet Beretning om Elling Eielsen's Liv og Virksomhed* (Chicago, 1883); Erick O. Mørstad, *Elling Eielsen og den "Evangelisk-lutherske Kirke i Amerika"* (Minneapolis, 1917). Sketches are found in Bothne, "Kort Udsigt," appended to Heggtveit, *Kirkehistorie* (Takla ed.), in Johan A. Bergh, *Den Norsk Lutherske Kirkes Historie i Amerika* (Minneapolis, 1914), in Rohne, *Norwegian American Lutheranism*, and in Rasmus Malmin, O. M. Norlie, and O. A. Tingelstad, *Who's Who among Pastors in all the Norwegian Synods of America* (Minneapolis, 1928).

1856, and remained outside of all synodical connections until 1862, when, together with the Reverend Nils Amlund and the Reverend John W. Fjeld, he joined the Norwegian Synod. In 1887 he left the Norwegian Synod and in 1890 participated in the formation of the United Norwegian Lutheran Church. In 1855 and 1856 he served as president of the Lisbon school. From 1856 to 1862 he published the *Kirkelig Tidende*. To utilize his press still further he organized the "Lisbon Norwegian Lutheran Association for the Publication of Christian Books of Instruction and Edification." Through his efforts were published such books as Johan Arndt's *True Christianity*, *The Book of Concord*, and other books of devotion and edification, all in the Norwegian language.

Rasmussen was an energetic, capable, and resourceful man. Indeed, Bothne says of him that with his extraordinary natural gifts he could have become a Norwegian bishop had he remained in Norway and had he received the proper training.[12] On the other hand, his many transfers from one synod to another do not testify to a high degree of constancy or tractability. Nevertheless, Rasmussen must be counted as one of that race of giants who trod the Middle Western plains in the early days of Norwegian immigration.[13]

As noted above, the printed copy of the *Report* carries a brief sermon from Rasmussen's pen. Since this is probably Rasmussen's first published sermon it has a certain historic interest; it is, however, not an integral part of the proceedings of the convention and has therefore not been included in this reprint.

The reader will no doubt notice that the proofs of the original had not been carefully read and corrected; but inas-

[12] In "Kort Udsigt," appended to Heggtveit, *Kirkehistorie* (Takla ed.), 844.

[13] For biographical materials on P. A. Rasmussen, see Bothne in "Kort Udsigt," appended to Heggtveit, *Kirkehistorie* (Takla ed.); L. M. Bjørn, *Pastor P. A. Rasmussen* (Minneapolis, 1905); Rohne, *Norwegian American Lutheranism*, 105; Malmin, Tingelstad, and Norlie, *Who's Who among Pastors in the Norwegian Synods*.

much as the student of history always prefers an exact copy, the misprints and other awkward expressions have been retained. It is quite possible that these are due to the fact that the printer's work was done in St. Louis in what seems to have been a German shop.

[TEXT OF THE REPORT]

Fredagen den 16de og Løverdagen den 17de Juni ankom de til det ved Lisbon i Kendall Co. Illinois berammede Aarsmøde valgte Deputerede fra Chicago og fra forskjellige Menigheder i Wisconsin og Illinois, og bleve der kjærligen og broderligen modtagne, og indlogerede hos de forskjellige Brødre af Menigheden. — Søndag, som var Trinitatis Søndag, samledes en betydelig Mængde Mennesker i den nys opbyggede Kirke, hvor Menighedens Præst P. A. Rasmussen prædikede over Dagens Evangelium, og derefter forrettede den hellige Nadveres Uddelelse. — Eftermiddagen prædikede E. Eielsen fra Wisconsin over Johannes's 1 Epistel 3 Cap.

Mandag den 19de Juni samledes atter i Kirken saavel de Deputerede, som ellers mange andre Brødre og Søstre, som ønskede at bevaane Mødets Forhandlinger. Og aabnedes Mødet med Afsyngelsen af en Psalme, og mød Bøn om Herrens naadige Bistand og hans Helligaands Understøttelse, Oplysning og Veiledning til Dagens Forretninger. — Derefter skredes da til Forhandlingerne.

Først blev gjordt opmærksom paa at vælge en Ordfører og en Sekretair. Og valgtes da eenstemmig E. Eielsen til Ordfører og P. A. Rasmussen til Sekretair.

E. Eielsen foreslog nu til Overveielse, hvorledes den alt mere og mere voxende Trang i de forskjellige Menigheder i Illinois, Wisconsin, og Iowa for Ordets ordentlige Tjenere bedst kunde afhjælpes, og fremlagde tillige en Skrivelse fra Iowa, hvorfra ingen Deputerede vare komne, som indeholdt den indstændigste Begjæring om at erholde en aandelig oplyst Prest, som og maatte være befæstet i den rene, sunde Lære, da Flere der for deres Samvittigheds Skyld ei kunde lade sig tilfredsstille med de Præster, som der vare formedelst deres større og mindre Afvi-

gelser fra den rene lutherske Lære. — Alle indsaae Vigtigheden af denne Gjenstands alvorlige Overveielse, da Trangen til retskafne og den sunde Lære førende Ordets Tjenere mere og mere fra mange Kanter begynder lydeligen at yttre sig; men om Maaden, hvorpaa denne Trang saa snart som muligt kunde blive afhjulpen, derom vare Meningerne forskjellige. — Gudmund Strand fra Koskonong meente, at man til Afhjælpelsen af den forhaandeværende Trang burde tage Personer af et christeligt Sind og af et sundt Begreb i Læren, om de end ei vare i Besiddelse af den Uddannelse, som man ellers kunde ønske og ansee som nødvendig, hvilken Anskuelse ogsaa Flere bifaldt. Han foreslog da at vælge en christeligsindet Mand Torbjørn Tjentland af Wisconsin, men som dog ei selv var nærværende paa Mødet, til Præst. Dette Forslag antoges af Nogle, men afsloges atter af Andre paa Grund af de Flestes Ubekjendtskab med ham, samt ogsaa paa Grund af hans fremrykkende Alder og store Familie, der kunde blive ham hinderlig til Udførelsen af de Pligter, som da vilde komme at hvile paa ham. Da Meningerne vedbleve at være forskjellige herom, udsadtes samme Forslags Afgjørelse indtil Eftermiddagen, for imidlertid at kunne nærmere overveie samme.

P. A. Rasmussen foreslog at kalde Candidat i Theologien Thalberg i Norge igjennem O. Nielsen i Fredrikshaldt til at komme herover, og som Præst at virke iblandt vore Landsmænd her, da der var indløben Underretning om samme Cand. Thalberg, at han skulde ei alene være af et christeligt Sind, men ogsaa have rene og sunde Begreber i Læren. Dette Forslag antoges eenstemmig.

Ligesaa foreslog P. A. Rasmussen at skrive til Olaus Nielsen, og paa det Indstændigste opfordre ham til at gjøre al mulig Flid, at bevæge saadanne unge Mennesker, der maatte være i Besiddelse af de nødvendige Lære-Evner, og dertil være førte til en sand levende Christendoms Øvelse, at komme herover, for efter en passende Uddannelse ved et christeligt Seminar at indtræde i samme Stilling som Ordets Tjenere i de Menigheder, som maatte retteligen kalde dem hertil. Ogsaa dette Forslag antoges eenstemmig af alle Deputerede.

Ordføreren foreslog nu Oprettelsen af et Seminar til Uddan-

nelse af unge begavede Mennesker af et christeligt Sind til Skolelærere, saavel som til Præster, hvor der kunde erholdes Underviisning i de meest nødvendige Kundskaber, som udfordres til samme Embeders rette Forvaltning. P. A. Rasmussen understottede samme Forslag, og ledsagede det med en Henviisning til de Fag, hvori fornemmelig burde gives Underviisning, nemlig: Reen og tydelig Læsning, grundig Kjendskab til Stavereglerne, Regning, Skrivning, Retskrivning, norsk Grammatik, det tydske og engelske Sprog, Sang, Bibelhistorie, Kirkehistorie, Dogmatik eller Troeslæren, grundig Kjendskab til de symboliske Bøger: Den uforandrede augsburgske Confession, dens Apologie, de Smalkaldiske Artikle, Luthers større og mindre Catekismus, samt "Formula Concordiae", Symbolik, Pastorale, Bibelforklaring, Øvelse i Catechisation m. m. — Alle indsaae Nødvendigheden af en saadan Læreanstalts Oprettelse i vor egen Midte til Opholdelse af den rene, sunde Lære her i dette Land, hvorfor ogsaa samme Forslag eenstemmig antoges.

E. Eielsen fremlagde nu det Spørgsmaal, hvor det for samme Seminarium meest passende Sted vilde være? Selv foreslog han Oprettelsen heraf ved Lisbon, og tiltraadte strax flere af de Deputerede, som Gudmund Strand, Torger Olsen Ryg med Flere denne Mening. Nogle fra Wisconsin yttrede dog, at de ansaae Lisbon, som for langt bortliggende fra de andre Settlementer i Wisconsin, særdeles da de ansaae Iowa, som det Sted, hvor de fleste Nykommere herefter vil drage hen, hvorfor de da foreslog et Sted i Wisconsin for samme Seminars Oprettelse. P. A. Rasmussen mente, at naar blot Oprettelsen heraf blev i en af vore egne Menigheders Midte, saa vilde det ei gjøre noget til Sagen, om det var saa langt fjernet fra Menighederne i Wisconsin, som Lisbon er, da det ei vilde blive en Skole for almindelige Børn overhovedet, men kuns for dem, som skulde uddannes til vordende Skolelærere og Præster, og som ei vilde være nødsaget til at gjøre oftere Reiser frem og tilbage, men som kunde blive der, indtil de vare færdige at indgaae som Arbeidere i de Menigheder, som maatte kalde dem dertil. Tillige fremhævede han ogsaa, at en saadant Seminar maatte fornemmelig blive opholdt ved frivillige Gaver af Levnetsmidler, som der i Menigheden ved Lisbon lettere end i andre enkelte af vore Menigheder i Wisconsin vilde

kunde tilveiebrindges. Det antoges da eenstemmig, at ved Lisbon vilde være det mest beqvemme Sted for Oprettelsen af samme Seminarium. Da det nu var Middag hævedes Mødet for denne Formiddag.

EFTERMIDDAG KL. 2.

Forslaget om Valget paa Torbjørn Tjentland til Præst optoges paany af Ordføreren. Da det imidlertid befandtes, at de Fleste endnu vare for meget ubekjendt med ham til at kunne afgive Stemme heri, saa besluttedes endnu at henstille dette Valg, hvorimod man enedes om, at vælge ham (Torbj. Tjentland) til at reise omkring i de forskjellige norske Settlementer at holde Opbuggelses-Forsamlinger, hvorved Menighederne vilde blive bedre bekjendt med ham. Skulde da til næste Aar Faae eller Ingen komme herover fra Norge efter den fra vort Samfund udgaaede Kaldelse, saa at Nøden og Trangen til Ordets Tjenere vilde komme at blive lige stor, da vilde han til næste Aar, om han ellers maatte blive funden dygtig dertil, og en christelig Menighed maatte komme til at tilstille ham ordentlig Kaldelse, kunde blive ordineret til det hellige Prædike-Embede, uden at indgaae paa noget Prøveaar, som ellers ifølge vor Constitution udfordres.

I Henseende til det forhen gjordte Forslag om et Seminars Oprettelse ved Lisbon blev nu af Ordføreren videre fremdraget, hvorlades det ogsaa snarest muligt kunde sættes i virkelig Udførelse hermed, og besluttedes efter en kort Overveielse heraf, at Subskriptions-Planer strax skulde omsendes i alle de til vort Samfund hørende Menigheder, for at indsamle et saa stort Subskriptions-Beløb som muligt, hvormed man kunde begynde Opførelsen af en til samme Skole passende Bygning, samt til Indkjøbelsen af et Stykke Land, der skulde vedføies Seminariet, som dets Eiendom. Dette Subskribtions-Beløb skulde være at udbetales i tre Terminer: Den første til October Maaned dette Aar, den anden til i Mai 1855, den tredie til October 1855.

P. A. Rasmussen fremdrog nu et tydsk Skrift af Dr. Rudelbach "Om Sakrament-Ordene", og foreslog Oplæselsen af nogle Capitler i samme Skrift, handlende om "Forsagelsen ved Daaben, dens Begrundelse i den hellege Skrift og i Daabens ganske Økonomie, om de kirkelige Vidnesbyrd for Forsagelsen, dens

oprindelige Form, og det Faststaaende og Uforanderlige derved" m. m. — Da dette befaldtes, blev da en grundig Fremstillelse af visse Artikle oplæste, der stillede denne Sag i det klareste Lys, og tjente til megen Bestyrkelse for alle de forenede Venner som vel alle havde hidtil med Varme forsvaret samme Lære-Artikles Bibeholdelse, som grundede i Guds Ord og overeensstemmende med Christendommens Fordringer, men dog uden hidtil at have hørt eller lest en saa grundig Fremstillelse deraf. — Derefter gik han over at oplæse en Artikel af "Formula Concordia" om den hellige Nadvere, da saavel Læren herom, som Læren om Daaben her i Landet meget anfægtes og forvendes af de forskjellige Partier og Sekter. Under Forelæsningen heraf vare Alle i den største Opmærksomhed, og bleve meget bestyrkende ved den grundige, næsten i intet andet Skrift saa rene, tydelige og paa den hellige Skrift sig grundende Fremstillelse af denne Gjenstand, som det i dette Skrift findes. — Efter Forelæsningen heraf bemærkede Forelæseren nogle Ord om de symboliske Bøgers Opstaaen og Foranledigelsen til samme, samt deres Vigtighed for os her i dette Sekternes Land, — fremhævede den store Naade, som Gud ogsaa har beviist os her i dette fra vort christelige Hjem saa langt bortliggende Land, at han har betroet os sit Sandheds Ord, og bevaret ogsaa for os den rene, sunde Lære, saaledes som den af de af Guds Aand selv udvalgte og oplyste hellige Fædre blev bragt for Lyset, — formanede til at erkjende samme Naade med skyldig Taknemmelighed og at blive faste ved samme dyrebare Lære, — samt paapegede den Skam og Skjændsel, som vil blive alle dem til Deel, der frafalde den rene Sandhed og handle som Forrædere imod den lutherske Kirke, naar de paa hiin den store Dag, da Herren atter vil komme igjen, skal see den store Skare af Sandheds Vidner, som have her i Tiden aflagt den gode Bekjendelse og stredet for Sandhedens Sag skinne som Solen, men selv staae brændemærkede i deres egen Samvittighed som Afvegne og Frafaldne. — Derefter sluttedes denne Dags Forretninger med Afsyngelsen af en Psalme og med Bøn og Taksigelse for Herrens i denne Dag beviste Naade.

Tirsdag Formiddag samledes man atter, og aabnedes Forhandlingerne med Sang og Bøn.

Skolelærer G. Petersen fra Akers Sogn ved Christiania, just

ankommen hertil fra Norge, hvor han i en Række af 9 Aar havde været beskjæftiget med Skole-Underviisning og tilbydende sin Tjeneste iblandt os som Skolelærer, valgtes ogsaa eenstemmig dertil af alle de Deputerede. Vel stemte man for Chicago, som det nu for Tiden for norsk Skole meest trængende Sted; men paa Grund af den indtrædende Hede, som og paa Grund af den der allerede begyndte Cholera, ansaae man det meest beqvemt, at Petersen begyndte Skolen i Lisbon, hvortil han ogsaa var villig. Hans Løn bestemtes til 12 Doll. maanedlig.

P. A. Rasmussen foreslog J. Johnsens "Christelig Psalmebog" at blive indført, som almindelig Kirkebog i vort Samfund, da han syntes at finde i den en større Samling af de meest kjærnefulde, aandrige og grundige Psalmer, end i nogen anden Psalmesamling. Vel hørtes en Stemme at yttre Frygt for en saadan Forandring af Psalmebog, idet den meente, at man ved saadanne Ombytninger fra det Gamle til noget Nyere ei vilde være synderlig bedre tjent. Men da Flere godtgjorde, at dette ei her kunde være Tilfælde, da denne her ønskede Forændring mere maatte kunde ansees som en Tilbagegang fra noget Nyere til det Gamle, — da der videre blev gjordt opmærksom paa, at i samme Psalmebog ogsaa er indført de bedste og de fleste af Guldbergs Psalmer, — og da tillege de fleste af de Deputerede fandtes at være bekjendt med samme Bog, og erkjendte den ubestridelig at være den bedste Psalmesamling, som vi i vort Sprog har, saa antoges ogsaa eenstemmig samme Forslag. —

Da igjennem Olaus Nilsens "Kirkelig Tidende" er udtalt Ønske om at gjøre et nyt Oplag af samme Psalmebog, saa besluttedes, at skrive til ham, og indhente Oplysninger fra ham, hvor snart han tænker at overgive samme til Pressen, samt hvad Prisen paa samme vil blive, og da, efterat have indhentet tilfredsstillende Oplysninger herom, at udsende Subskriptions-Planer i de forskjellige Menigheder af vort Samfund. — Mødet hævedes hermed for denne Formiddag.

Eftermiddag Kl. 2.

E. Eielsen opfordrede de Deputerede, saavel som de andre paa Mødet værende Venner, til strax at begynde en Subskription til Oprettelsen af det førommeldte Seminar. Det overdroges Sekre-

tairen at skrive samme. Efterat have gjordt dette og oplæst den for de Forsamlede, tegnedes da til et Beløb af omtrent 1400 Dollars; og var det en sand Glæde at bemærke den Interesse, som besjælede Alle for at faae dette Forslag realiseret til Virkelighed. Derefter blev besluttet, at tage nogle Afskrifter af Subskribtions Indbydelsen, for at de forskjellige Menigheder i Wisconsin og Illinois maatte strax faae den i Hænde ved de Deputerede, naar de kom at reise tilbage.

P. A. Rasmussen bad nu de Nærværende om Opmærksomhed, idet han havde at foreslaae nogle Rettelser i vor Constitution, som da ogsaa strax skjænkedes ham. Han foreslog da, at der i 1 Paragraph til "den apostoliske Troesbekjendelse" skulde tilføies "den nicæniske og athanasianske Troesbekjendelse", samt at der til den "augsburgske Confession" skulde tilføies de andre den lutherske Kirkes symboliske Bøger, nemlich Den augsburgske Confessions Apologie, de Smalkaldiske Artikle, Luthers større og mindre Catekismus og Formula Concordiae. Og antoges dette Forslag om disse symboliske Bøgers Tilføielse i vor Constitutions 1 Paragraph eenstemmig af alle Deputerede.

Videre fremdrog han til Overveielse den 2 Paragraph, og fremhævede deri en Feiltagelse af det rene lutherske Kirkebegreb, idet i samme Paragraph ei er udtalt Forskjellen imellem, hvad Kirken i dens *egentlige* Forstand er, og hvorledes den *synligen* aabenbarer sig her i Verden. Efterat fremhævet det rene lutherske Begreb i denne Læreartikel, og til Tydeliggjørelse deraf oplæst den 4de Artikel af den augsburgske Confessions Apologie "Om Kirken", viste han hen til Vigtigheden af at bibeholde den rene symboliske Lære af denne Artikel, og at vogte sig for den Udskjeielse, som til tvende Sider herfra lettelig kan gjøres, nemlig først den, som det romaniserende eller catholiserende Parti eller de ivrige Velyndere og Befordrere af Grundvigs og Wexels "kirkelige Anskuelse" falde hen til, *idet de i aldeles Modsætning til den lutherske Lære* forklare Kirken som "Samlingen of alle Døbte, som bekjende den christelige Troe", med hvilken vrange Udlægning de ogsaa i Virkeligheden atter optage den catholske Kirke Lære, *og skjeie dermed ud fra den lutherske Kirke*, hvis Bekjendelses Skrift "den augsburgske Confession" giver en ganske anden Definition over Kirken. Og for det andet

at vogte sig for den Udskeielse, som de fleste Sekter her i Landet falde hen til, idet de vil gjøre *det udvartes* Samfund til et af blat Omvendte og Troende bestaaende Samfund, uden at klargjøre, at dette vel er Kirken i dens *egentlige* Forstand, den *usynlige* Kirke, men som dog i dens *synlige Aabenbarelse* herneden ei kan andet end være blandet, bestaaende saavel af Omvendte som Uomvendte, dog saaledes, at alene de Omvendte egentlig er Kirken, medens de Uomvendte blot ere i *Kirken*, i det udvortes Samfund efter Navnet og ei i Gjerningen. For at forebygge Misforstaaelse bemærkede han tillige, at de *aabenbar* Ugudelige, som leve i aabenbare Laster, hvormed de forarge baade dem, som ere i Samfundet og dem, som ere udenfor, visselig ikke engang optages i det *udvortes* Samfund med Deelagtiggjørelse af Kirkens gode Ting, men burde ganske afholdes fra Herrens Nadvere indtil de viste et forandret Sind. Efterat nu ogsaa Ordføreren tilligemed Torger Olsen Ryg samt og Flere udtalte sig for samme Anskuelse, enedes man eenstemmig om, at i denne Paragraph maatte skee en Rettelse, og det rene lutherske Begreb herom tüdelig fremsættes. Hvad mere der i samme Constitution kunde være at rettes, eller tjene til dens Fuldstændiggjørelse, det overlodes til nøiere og grundigere Gjennemsyn og Overveielse i dette følgende Aar. Til dette nærmere Gjennemsyn af Constitutionen nedsadtes en Committee, bestaaende af: E. Eielsen, E. A. Rasmussen, Torger Olsen Ryg. — Da det nu var Aften sluttedes Mødet for denne Dag med Sang og Bøn.

Onsdag Formiddag samledes man atter, og aabnedes ogsaa nu Forhandlingerne med Sang og Bøn.

I Henseende til det forhen gjordte Forslag om Indkjøbelsen af et Stykke Land, som det vordende Seminars Eiendom, foresloges nu af Nogle et fra Kirken omtrent 1¼ Mill beliggende Stykke Land (40 Acres) med en derpaa staaende stor Husebygning, hvilket man meente at være tilfalds. Tvende Mænd afsendtes strax til at indhente nærmere Underretning herom, hvilken de ogsaa efter en kort Tids Forløb tilfreds stillende bragte. De 40 Acres Land befandtes at være udmærket godt, vel opdyrket og indgjærdet, skjønt beliggende, hvorpaa en temmelig stor Ablehouge, samt en Plantning af flere andre Træer, som meget tjener til Stedets Forskjønnelse og Nytte. Huset var stort og temmelig

vel indrettet, ja meget passende til dette Brug med 14 større og mindre Værelser, foruden nogle ganske smaae Rum og en muret Kjælder. Tillige hørte ogsaa til samme Eiendom en Lade, samt en god Brønd med fortrinligt Vand. Det var alt at erholde for den Sum 1800 Dollars, hvoraf 100 skulde betales strax, 900 inden 6 Uger og 800 til næste Aar i Mai Maaned. Da nu dette Sted saaledes befandtes at være saare vel indrettet til det hensigtede Øiemed, saa besluttedes ogsaa eenstemmig at kjøbe samme Eiendom, hvilket ogsaa blev gjordt samme Dags Eftermiddag, efterat være taget i Øiesyn af flere af de Deputerede. — Hvis en tilstrækkelig Subskription til denne Seminar-Bygning og Eiendomme kunde erholdes, besluttedes at kjøbe et Trykkerie, at tilføies som Seminariets Eiendom. — Til Casserer og Regnskabsfører valgtes P. A. Rasmussen. — Næste Aarsmøde berammedes at afholdes den 1 Mandag i Juni Maaned 1855 paa Springprairie i Wisconsin.

Nu sluttedes Mødet med Afsyngelsen af Psalmen "Lover den Herre, den mægtige Konge" og med Taksigelse for Herrens store Naade, der saa kjendelig havde hvilet over Forsamlingen i Bevarelse af Enighed og Kjærlighed, og styrkede i Hjertet drog enhver hjem til sit.

P. A. Rasmussen,
Secretair.

TRANSLATION

On Friday the sixteenth and Saturday the seventeenth of June the delegates elected from Chicago and from various congregations in Wisconsin and Illinois arrived for the annual meeting scheduled to be held at Lisbon, Kendall County, Illinois. On their arrival the delegates were received in love and brotherly kindness by the various brethren in the congregation, who had already arranged to receive the delegates into their homes.

On Sunday, which was Trinity Sunday, a considerable number of people gathered in the newly erected church building, where the local pastor, P. A. Rasmussen, preached on the text for the day. After the sermon he officiated at the celebration of the Lord's Supper. In the afternoon E. Eielsen from Wisconsin preached, taking the First Epistle of John, Chapter 3, as his text.

On Monday, June 19, the delegates as well as other brothers and sisters who wished to listen to the proceedings gathered in the church. The meeting opened with the singing of a hymn and with a prayer invoking God's gracious aid and the enlightenment and the sustaining power of His Spirit in guidance of the day's proceedings. Thereupon the convention began its deliberations.

The first point of business was to elect a president and a secretary. E. Eielsen was unanimously chosen president and P. A. Rasmussen secretary.

E. Eielsen proposed that the convention should consider the constantly growing need of the various congregations in Illinois, Wisconsin, and Iowa for proper ministers of the Gospel and how this need could be alleviated. In support of this he put before the convention a memorandum from Iowa, whence no delegates had come, containing the most urgent request that they be given a spiritually enlightened pastor who, withal, must be grounded in the pure, sound doctrine, since there are many who, for conscience's sake, could not be satisfied with the pastors who were available on account of greater or lesser deviations from the pure Lutheran doctrine. All recognized the importance of a thorough consideration of this matter, since the need of upright ministers of the Gospel, who preach the sound doctrine, is more and more keenly felt in many parts. But as to the way in which this need could be relieved as quickly as possible, the opinions were quite diverse.

Gudmund Strand from Koshkonong thought that in order to relieve the present need persons might be used who possess a Christian temperament and a sound conception of the truth, even if they do not have the education which one otherwise could wish or regard as necessary. This view was shared by many. He thereupon moved that they choose as pastor a Christian-minded man by the name of Torbjørn Tjentland from Wisconsin, who, unfortunately, was not present at the meeting. This motion was acceptable to some but objectionable to others, chiefly because he was a stranger to most of them. Others, moreover, regarded his advanced age and large family as possible hindrances in the performance of the duties which would devolve upon him. As opinions continued to be divided on this question, the decision

in the matter was postponed until the afternoon, to afford an opportunity for further pondering of the problem.

P. A. Rasmussen moved that the meeting should, through O. Nielsen in Fredrikshald, call Thalberg, Candidate in Theology, from Norway to come and take up the work as a pastor among our countrymen here. Concerning this same Candidate Thalberg reports had come that he is not only Christian-minded, but also possesses pure and sound doctrinal views. This motion was unanimously accepted.

Similarly P. A. Rasmussen moved that they write to Olaus Nielsen and urgently request him to be most diligent in seeking to induce such young men to come over here as are in possession of the necessary gifts of learning and withal have made headway in the exercise of a true, living Christianity, in order that, after proper training at some Christian seminary, they may take up the said ministry of the Gospel in the congregations which may send them a proper call. This motion was likewise unanimously accepted by all the delegates.

The president now moved that a seminary be erected where young men who are gifted and Christian-minded could be trained to be parochial teachers as well as preachers, and where they could receive instruction in the branches most necessary for the proper performance of these offices. P. A. Rasmussen seconded this motion, and added a few remarks about the subjects which ought to be taught; namely, clear and distinct reading, thorough drill in spelling, arithmetic, writing, rhetoric, Norwegian grammar, German, English, singing, Bible history, church history, dogmatics or Christian doctrine, a thorough acquaintance with the symbolical books of the Lutheran Church — to wit: the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, the Apology, the Smalcald Articles, Luther's Large and Small Catechisms, besides the *Formula of Concord*, — Lutheran symbolics, pastoral theology, exegesis or Bible interpretation, catechetics, or training in catechizing, and so forth. All saw the necessity of establishing such an institution in our own midst for the maintenance of the pure and sound doctrine in this country; wherefore this motion was also unanimously passed.

E. Eielsen now raised the question where this seminary might

most properly be located. His opinion was that the school should be established at Lisbon and at once several of the delegates, Gudmund Strand, Torger Olson Ryg, and others among them, voiced the same sentiments. A few from Wisconsin did intimate, however, that they regarded Lisbon as being too far from the other settlements in Wisconsin, especially since they regarded Iowa as the place whither most of the newcomers hereafter will go. Accordingly they proposed that the said seminary be built somewhere in Wisconsin. P. A. Rasmussen thought that so long as the institution was located in the midst of one of our congregations, the fact that it was as far removed from the congregations in Wisconsin as Lisbon is, would really make no great difference, since it would not be a school for ordinary instruction, but only for those who were to be educated as future school teachers and pastors. These, of course, would not need to make frequent trips back and forth, but would remain at school until they were ready to enter upon the work in the congregations which might call them. He further stressed the fact that such a seminary must be supported by free-will gifts of food supplies, which in the congregation at Lisbon could be made more readily than in certain other congregations in Wisconsin. It was unanimously decided that Lisbon would be the most suitable place for the establishment of the proposed seminary. As it was now noon, the forenoon meeting was adjourned.

Two O'clock P. M.

The motion concerning the choice of Torbjørn Tjentland as a pastor was again brought up by the president. Since it became evident that most of the delegates present were not as yet sufficiently acquainted with him to vote in the matter, it was decided to postpone the choice. Instead, it was decided that Torbjørn Tjentland should be appointed to travel about in the various Norwegian settlements to conduct meetings of edification. In this way the congregations will become acquainted with him; and in case by next year few or no pastors shall come over from Norway in response to a call from our synod and the need for ministers of the Gospel shall then be as great as now, then next year — provided that he is otherwise found capable and a Chris-

tion congregation gives him a regular call — he can be ordained to the holy ministry without having to serve a year on trial, as is otherwise required by our constitution.

In regard to the motion concerning the establishment of a seminary at Lisbon the president further indicated how this school as quickly as possible could be put into operation. After a short consideration of this problem, it was decided that subscription lists shall be circulated throughout all the congregations of the church that as large a fund as possible may be collected for the erection of a suitable building for the school and also for the purchase of a piece of land which should be added to the seminary property. The sum subscribed may be paid in three installments, the first in October of this year, the second on May 1, 1855, and the third in October, 1855.

P. A. Rasmussen now exhibited a German treatise by Dr. Rudelbach on the subject "Concerning the Words of the Sacrament," and proposed that someone read a few chapters of this work concerning "the renunciation at Baptism,[14] its basis in Scripture and in the whole baptismal economy, concerning the testimony of the church in support of the renunciation, its original form, the abiding and unchangeable elements in it" and so forth. On the approval of this suggestion, a thorough elucidation of these points was read, whereby they were brought into the clearest possible light, and served to strengthen greatly all the associated friends, who undoubtedly all had hitherto very warmly defended the retention of the said articles of faith as being based on God's word and being in conformity to the tenets of Christendom, without, however, having heretofore either heard or read so thorough a discussion of the subject.

After this, Rasmussen read an article from the *Formula of Concord* concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, since this doctrine, as well as the doctrine of Holy Baptism, is severely attacked and perverted by the various parties and sects in this

[14] This refers to the renunciation of the devil, which reads in the modern versions of the altar book as follows: "N., dost thou renounce the devil, and all his works, and all his ways?" The Ellingians had recently had a controversy with Paul Anderson on this subject. See Rohne, *Norwegian American Lutheranism*, 103.

country. During the reading of this all present were most attentive, and were greatly strengthened by the thorough presentation of the subject, which is seldom to be found in other writings in such a pure, clear, and Scriptural form as in this particular treatise. After he had finished reading, Rasmussen added a few words concerning the origin and occasion of the writing of the Symbolical Books [15] and showed their importance for us here in this land of sects. He further stressed the great grace that God has shown us in this distant land by entrusting us with His word of truth, and by preserving for us the pure and sound doctrine, just as it was brought to light by the holy and enlightened Fathers whom the Holy Spirit had chosen. He admonished them to acknowledge this grace by a due gratitude, and to hold fast to this precious doctrine. On the other hand, he depicted the shame and infamy which will be the portion of all those who fall away from the pure truth and act as traitors to the Lutheran Church, especially on that great day when the Lord shall come again, and they shall see a great host of witnesses for the truth who have here in time made the good confession and fought for the cause of truth. They shall see these witnesses shine as the sun, whereas they themselves will be branded in their own consciences as apostates and reprobates. The deliberations of the day were brought to an end by the singing of a hymn and by prayer and thanksgiving to the Lord for the grace He had bestowed on them during this day.

[Tuesday Forenoon]

Tuesday morning the delegates convened again, and opened their deliberations with songs and prayers.

Teacher G. Peterson from Aker's parish near Christiania, who had recently arrived from Norway, where he had taught in the schools for nine years, offered his services among us as teacher.[16]

[15] That is, the Symbolical Books of the Lutheran Church which comprise the Book of Concord.

[16] In the Norwegian state church the "teacher" also had to teach religion. In consequence he was accorded a station in life somewhat below that of a pastor. It was natural, therefore, that Peterson should apply to a church

He was unanimously elected to this office by the delegates. Chicago would ordinarily have been designated as his field of activity since in this city, for the present, the need for a Norwegian school is the greatest; yet, on account of the approach of the hot summer season, and on account of the cholera, which has already made its appearance there, it was deemed best that Peterson should begin to teach at Lisbon, which he also agreed to do.[17] His wages were fixed at twelve dollars per month.[18]

P. A. Rasmussen proposed that J. Johnsen's *Christelig Psalmebog* [Christian Hymn Book] be adopted as the official hymn book of the synod. He seemed to discover in this hymn book a larger collection of the most pithy, spiritual, and weighty hymns than in any other hymn collection. To be sure, a single voice was raised in apprehension with regard to this proposed change of hymn books, this person holding that such changes from the old to the new are not necessarily advantageous.[19] Several others made it plain that these objections do not apply in the present case, since the proposed change was to be regarded rather as a reversion from something new to something older. Attention was further called to the fact that in this same hymn book the most

meeting for a position. For the difference between the Norwegian and the American teacher, see Rohne, *Norwegian American Lutheranism*, 58 ff.

[17] Cholera had visited most of the settlements in 1849, 1850, and 1852. See Anderson, *First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration*, 274; also Knut Gjerset and Ludvig Hektoen, "Health Conditions and the Practice of Medicine among the Early Norwegian Settlers, 1825–1865," in Norwegian-American Historical Association, STUDIES AND RECORDS, 1: 1–59 (Minneapolis, 1926). The cholera of 1854 was not so deadly as that of the former years.

[18] Ole Knudson Trovatten was elected *forsanger* and parochial school teacher in the Koshkonong congregations in 1845 at a salary of ten dollars a month. These pioneers did not handle much money but they managed to eke out an existence and to be happy in the absence of material wealth.

[19] The Ellingian group in America as well as in Norway was very conservative in regard to changes in texts of all kinds as they feared that new doctrines would thus be smuggled into the church. Witness their bitter fight against Wexelsism. See Rohne, *Norwegian American Lutheranism*, 116, 144; Mons O. Wee, *Haugeanism, a Brief Sketch of the Movement and Some of Its Chief Exponents* (St. Paul, 1919).

and the best of Guldberg's hymns[20] were also included. When, finally, it was discovered that most of the delegates were acquainted with the proposed hymnal and declared it to be beyond a doubt the best collection of hymns that exists in the Norwegian language, the proposal was unanimously accepted.

Since through Olaus Nielsen's *Kirkelig Tidende* [Church Times] a desire has been expressed that a new edition of this hymn book be published, it was decided that someone write Nielsen and inquire how soon he intends to send the copy to the press. Inquiries should also be made regarding the estimated price of the book, and when satisfactory information is procured, subscription lists should be circulated in the congregations of our synod. The forenoon session was thereupon adjourned.

Two O'clock P. M.

E. Eielsen requested that the delegates as well as other friends present at the meeting immediately begin to subscribe money toward the establishment of the above mentioned seminary. The secretary was asked to draw up a suitable subscription list. When he had done this and had read it to those present, the sum of about $1,400 was subscribed. It was indeed a great joy to observe the eager interest which all manifested in their desire to make this proposal a reality. Upon motion, it was decided that copies of the invitation to subscribe be made, in order that they may be laid before the various congregations in Wisconsin and Illinois by the delegates immediately on their return home.

P. A. Rasmussen now asked those present to give him their attention as he intended to propose some changes in our Constitution;[21] which, indeed, they did. He proposed that to the words, the Apostolic Creed, in Paragraph 1, should be added the words,

[20] *Guldberg's Psalmebog* [Hymn Book] was issued by the Scandinavian Press Association (consisting of pastors from the Norwegian Synod) at Luther Valley, Wisconsin, in 1854. But, of course, the rival groups could not use each other's hymn books. See Rohne, *Norwegian American Lutheranism*, 140.

[21] Proposals to change the Old Constitution met with Eielsen's ready hostility. It has been noted above how suspicious the Ellingian group was of all changes. By this act Rasmussen virtually read himself out of

the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, and that to the Augsburg Confession should be added the other Symbolical Books of the Lutheran Church, to wit: the Apology to the Augsburg Confession, the Smalcald Articles, Luther's Large and Small Catechisms and the Formula of Concord.[22] The proposal concerning the addition of these Symbolical Books to Paragraph 1 of our Constitution was unanimously accepted by all the delegates.

Rasmussen thereupon proceeded to the examination of Paragraph 2, where he noted a misconception of the pure Lutheran doctrine concerning the Church, inasmuch as this paragraph makes no distinction between the Church, in its essential sense, and in its visible appearance in this world. After he had expounded the true Lutheran doctrine of this article, and for its further elucidation had read Chapter 4 of the Apology of the Augsburg Confession, the article entitled "Of the Church,"[23] he proceeded to point out the importance of maintaining the pure Symbolical doctrine of this article, and the necessity of guarding against departure from this article, which can easily occur in two directions:

In the first place, there are those who incline toward Romanism and Catholicism or who favor and zealously promote the "Church Conception" of Grundtvig and Wexels,[24] in so far as they, in absolute contradiction to Lutheran doctrines, declare the Church to be "a communion of all the baptized, who profess Christian faith." By this perverse declaration they actually accept anew the doctrine of the Catholic Church, and set themselves at

Eielsen's group, the final rupture taking place two years later, in 1856. For the text of Eielsen's Old Constitution and Eielsen's jealous guardianship of it, see Rohne, *Norwegian American Lutheranism*, 105–111.

[22] This is more than is required of any Norwegian American Lutheran church even to this day; all that most of the bodies require is: the three Oecumenical Creeds, the Augsburg Confession, and Luther's Small Catechism. Many of the German and English speaking Lutherans require the whole Book of Concord as above. P. A. Rasmussen undoubtedly got this idea at Fort Wayne.

[23] H. E. Jacobs, *Book of Concord*, 161 ff. (People's Edition — Philadelphia, 1911).

[24] *Kirkelig Anskuelse*. See Rohne, *Norwegian American Lutheranism*, 113, 122, 145.

variance with the Lutheran Church, the doctrinal statement of which, the Augsburg Confession, gives quite a different definition of the Church.[25]

In the second place, the Church has to avoid the pitfalls in the opposite direction into which most of the sects in this country have fallen, whereas they have made the visible church into an association of those only who are converted believers, without explaining that this, indeed, is the Church in its essential aspect, namely the invisible church, but that in its visible form here on earth it cannot be anything but a mixture of both converted and unconverted. Even so, it is only the converted who actually comprise the Church; the unconverted are merely *in* the Church, *in* the external association only in name, not in deed. To ward off misunderstandings, he remarked also that the openly wicked, who live in open vice whereby they cause offense both to those who are in the church and those who are without, assuredly ought not to be admitted into membership even of the external association, whereby they are made partakers of the treasures of the Church; but ought, of course, absolutely to be barred from the Lord's Table until they show a different spirit.

After the president, Torger Olsen Ryg, and others had declared themselves to be in accord with this view, it was agreed unanimously that a correction must be made in this paragraph, and that the pure Lutheran conception concerning this matter should be clearly stated. Other things in the Constitution that might need correction or might need to be clarified or expanded, were referred to the next annual meeting for a more careful and thorough examination and deliberation. As a committee to examine the Constitution in this way, the meeting appointed E. Eielsen, E. A. Rasmussen,[26] and Torger Olsen Ryg. As it now was evening, the meeting was closed for the day with song and prayer.[27]

[25] This was a thrust at certain members of the Norwegian Synod, which was organized in 1853. A controversy arose over the "Third Article" of the Apostolic Creed. See Rohne, *Norwegian American Lutheranism*, 147.

[26] P. A. Rasmussen?

[27] The sessions had to be conducted on a strictly "daylight" basis in those days as it is doubtful if there were even kerosene lamps in the settlements. Certainly there were no screens against the light-loving insects.

[Wednesday Forenoon]

On Wednesday forenoon the sessions were continued after devotional exercises consisting of song and prayer.

With respect to the motion to buy a tract of land for the proposed seminary, it was now proposed by several to acquire a tract of land comprising forty acres situated about one and three quarter miles from the church and having a large residence on it, which was believed to be for sale. Two men were immediately despatched to make inquiries concerning this probability, and in a short time they returned with a very satisfactory report. The forty-acre tract was reported to be an excellent piece of land, well cultivated and fenced, beautifully situated, and having a rather large apple orchard along with a grove of other trees, all of which enhance the value and beauty of the place. The house, which is large and conveniently built, is admirably suited for the proposed school, having fourteen large and small rooms besides a few very small rooms and a stone basement. In addition the property has a barn and a well with excellent water. All of this is now to be had for a sum of $1,800, of which $100 must be paid at once, $900 within six weeks, and $800 by next May. As this place seemed remarkably well adapted to the intended use, it was unanimously decided to buy the property, which, indeed, was done that same afternoon after several of the delegates had inspected it.[28]

It was decided that in case sufficient subscriptions were received for the seminary building and the property, a printing press should be bought and added to the seminary property. P. A. Rasmussen was elected treasurer and bookkeeper. It was decided that the next annual meeting should be held the first Monday in June, 1855, at Spring Prairie, Wisconsin.

The meeting closed with the singing of the hymn, "Praise to

[28] For some reason this deal was not closed that day. P. A. Rasmussen in an article in *Der Lutheraner* for October 23, 1855, says that *ours* (*i. e.* the Ellingians) had procured land in January of 1855, but that teaching had not commenced until Easter because he had been too busily engaged in translating and printing Johan Arndt's *True Christianity*. This indicates also that the printing press was quite promptly secured. See *ante*, p. 19, 22, and Rohne, *Norwegian American Lutheranism*, 186.

the Lord, the Almighty, the King of Creation," and with thanksgiving for the Lord's great grace which had so evidently rested upon the assembly for the maintenance of unity and love. Strengthened in spirit, each one departed to his own home.

P. A. Rasmussen
Secretary

THE ATTITUDE OF THE UNITED STATES TOWARD NORWAY IN THE CRISIS OF 1905[1]

By H. Fred Swansen

When the dual monarchy of Norway and Sweden was established in 1815, an arrangement which was forced upon Norway by the powers of Europe, it was established on the understanding that the constitution of Norway of 1814, with slight modification on account of the union, should still be the fundamental law of that realm. In the *Rigsakt*, the legal instrument of union between the two countries, Sweden recognized Norway as "a free, independent, indivisible, and inalienable kingdom, united with Sweden under one King."[2] This document stipulated the conditions under which the union should operate; but like most documents of that kind, it omitted a clear and adequate exposition of some important matters. It failed, for example, to set down regulations for the conduct of foreign affairs and this, in the course of time, led to misunderstanding and trouble. This matter, or, more correctly speaking, the question of the establishment of a separate Norwegian consular service, had repeatedly ruffled the waters of diplomacy in the period after 1885 and culminated in the rupture of 1905. Attempts had been made through special committees to effect an understanding between the two nations, but in vain. At length, on June 7, 1905, the Norwegian Storthing unanimously declared the union with Sweden

[1] This paper aims to present a few facts that relate to the attitude of the United States toward Norway in the crisis with Sweden during the summer of 1905. It is prompted by the fact that the writer has recently had access to several important documents that have not been released by the United States Department of State for publication. These documents with a large amount of other material have been used to shed light on the attitude of the Roosevelt administration during that crisis.

[2] H. L. Brækstad, *The Constitution of the Kingdom of Norway*, 59 (London, 1905).

dissolved and, at the same time, invested the cabinet of Norway with regent authority to insure the conduct of government during the crisis. This action was referred to the people through a special referendum on August 13 of that summer and was approved by the significant vote of 368,384 to 184.[3] These facts give some idea as to the status of Norway in the peculiar dual monarchy and, in addition, set forth some of the striking circumstances which arose in connection with the peaceful revolution of 1905.

With the separation from Sweden accomplished, the Norwegian Foreign Office naturally hoped to secure the early recognition of Norway as a separate and independent nation, inasmuch as such action would materially strengthen its cause. The question then arose as to how this might be achieved. On June 16 a press dispatch announced that Mr. Løvland, the Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs, planned to send envoys within a few weeks to the great powers to seek recognition.

A few weeks later Mr. J. Irgens, who had served as secretary of the Norwegian-Swedish Commission that dealt with the consular question, and Mr. Chr. Hauge, secretary of the Swedish-Norwegian legation at Washington until his resignation in June, 1905, were in the United States promoting the interests of Norway. During the first part of July these gentlemen met Mr. F. H. Gade, mayor of Lake Forest, Illinois, and an ardent supporter of the cause of Norway, at New York and, with him, consulted John Bassett Moore and the Honorable John W. Foster. In a press statement on July 18, 1905, Mr. Gade said, "Recognition will be asked from the United States first because of the stand which this nation has already taken in international questions of this kind, and also because of the present prestige of the United

[3] United States Department of State, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, House Documents*, 59 Cong., 1 sess., vol. 1, p. 861.

States in international diplomatic circles. We were assured by authorities on international law with whom we consulted in the East and have not the slightest doubt ourselves of our right to recognition."[4] In the last sentence Mr. Gade undoubtedly refers to his consultation with Messrs. Moore and Foster. Mr. Foster had served as secretary of state under President Benjamin Harrison and Mr. Moore had won distinction through his work in international law; consequently the assurances of these prominent and able Americans meant much to the Norwegians.

In consequence of the meeting mentioned above, an informal document was drawn up for presentation to the United States Department of State as a "feeler" for an official communication which might follow. Under date of July 12, 1905, Mr. Hauge sent this to the Secretary of State, with "certain historical sketches dealing with the union period in question."[5] He reviewed briefly the progress of events in Norway after May 26, 1905, and in general presented the cause of the Norwegians. He then inquired whether the United States Government would officially receive diplomatic envoys and recognize consuls appointed by the Norwegian authorities. In a postscript Mr. Hauge stated that his letter was not intended as an exhaustive argument for recognition since that would be forthcoming later.

A few days later excitement ran high in the Scandinavian capitals over a telegram to Christiania to the effect that the *Chicago Daily News* on July 18 had published a statement that Norway had private agents in the United States who were sounding American opinion and trying to secure the speedy recognition of independence.[6] The Norwegian Department of Foreign Affairs promptly announced that Messrs. Hauge and Irgens were in the United States as private persons

[4] *New York Daily Tribune*, July 19, 1905, p. 2.
[5] *House Documents*, 59 Cong., 1 sess., vol. 1, p. 856.
[6] *Skandinaven*, July 26, 1905, p. 1.

and had no official standing of any kind with the Norwegian Government. This incident is a fair indication of the eagerness of each group to frustrate any movement that might cause embarrassment or bring difficulty to its cause. The stir, however, did not dampen the spirit of Mr. Hauge.

About a month later, on August 18 to be exact, Mr. Hauge again wrote to Secretary of State Elihu Root. On this occasion he stated that the new government in Norway had been in successful operation for three months and that the case was "so clear that recognition of the Norwegian Government by the Government of the United States might be expected."[7] He suggested recognition on the grounds that it would expedite the settlement of the questions pending between Norway and Sweden. To strengthen his case he cited the liberal policy of the United States in promptly recognizing the new government of France in 1870 and also that of Brazil in 1889. From the above facts it is plainly evident that Norway in an unofficial way sought to obtain the recognition of her complete independence by the United States. If the American administration had given open encouragement to these unofficial advances, it is very probable that Norway would have made an official appeal.

The appeal for recognition was not confined to the representatives from far-away Norway, but was made by Americans of Norwegian birth or extraction. The *New York Daily Tribune* for June 9, 1905, stated that a petition addressed to President Roosevelt and urging the recognition of Norway as a free and independent nation had been circulated in Boston and that a group of citizens there had urged Norwegian-born citizens in other sections of the United States to do the same. The appeal was made directly to the President for the reason that the determination of the question would eventually rest with him. A monster petition, bearing 20,000 signatures, was circulated in Chicago and sent to the President at Oyster

[7] *House Documents*, 59 Cong., 1 sess., vol. 1, p. 861.

Bay on June 30, 1905.[8] On June 14 Senator Dolliver of Iowa called on the President and presented a memorial adopted by the delegates to the Norwegian Music Festival, held at Fort Dodge, Iowa, a few days before.[9] This memorial urged recognition of the diplomatic and consular officers appointed by Norway. The President after this call gave much time to the question of the recognition of Norway; but, not being certain what action to take, decided to await developments.[10] On July 20 a news dispatch from Washington announced that petitions containing thousands of names of Americans of Norwegian birth or descent "have been received by the State Department during the past month and they are coming at the rate of hundreds each day."[11] During the latter part of August, residents of Bottineau County, North Dakota, drew up resolutions urging recognition and transmitted them to Senator Hansbrough of that state, who sent them on to the President at Oyster Bay. In a letter to President Roosevelt, Senator Hansbrough said that he was "sure that this liberty-loving nation of ours will approve the recognition [of the independence of Norway] whenever her properly-accredited representatives shall present themselves."[12] This is not a complete account of the activities in this country on behalf of the cause of Norway, but it is at least a fair index of the extent of the interest and enthusiasm.

In spite of all these appeals for action, the United States did not recognize Norway as an independent nation until Sweden had done so. This fact suggests the question as to what action Sweden took to forestall the recognition of Norway by the leading nations of the world.

On June 8, 1905, the day after the Norwegian Storthing

[8] *Minneapolis Journal*, June 30, 1905, p. 1.
[9] *New York Daily Tribune*, June 15, 1905, p. 2.
[10] *Minneapolis Journal*, June 14, 1905, p. 2.
[11] *Minneapolis Journal*, July 20, 1905, p. 2.
[12] *Minneapolis Journal*, August 28, 1905, p. 2.

had declared the union dissolved, the legation of Sweden and Norway at Washington sent a confidential communication to the State Department saying that His Majesty, King Oscar II, did not recognize the provisional government which had been established in Norway.[13] About three weeks later, June 29, Mr. C. H. Graves, American minister at Stockholm, transmitted to the State Department a copy of an instruction sent out by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Sweden to all diplomatic representatives abroad.[14] This document presented a resumé of the whole separation episode and in closing stated that Sweden stood by its decision not to recognize the illegal government established at Christiania by the vote of June 7. The Swedish diplomatic representatives were requested to bring the explanation and the intentions of His Majesty, on the matter of the crisis with Norway, to the attention of the governments to which they were accredited. The object of these communications obviously was to prevent the various governments from recognizing the independence of Norway.

Shortly after the press had announced that Norwegian agents had made a formal appeal to the United States for recognition, Mr. Strâle, the *chargé d'affaires* of the Swedish-Norwegian legation at Washington in the absence of Minister Grip, telegraphed to the State Department and inquired what action the United States would take.[15] Mr. Strâle also indicated that he would like to know so that he might inform his own government before the United States should make its decision public. This telegram was dated July 27. On July 31, Mr. Adee, temporarily in charge of the State Department, replied that no formal request had been made, but that the President was keeping himself informed and reserved to himself liberty

[13] Department of State, Notes from the Legation of Sweden and Norway, XII.

[14] Department of State, Dispatches from the American Legation at Stockholm, XXVIII.

[15] Notes from the Legation of Sweden and Norway, XII.

of action. Here again is evidence of the keen interest and close observation of the Swedish-Norwegian legation in the attitude and action of the United States.

Under the conditions that have been presented, the position of the United States was difficult, to say the least. The historic policy of the United States had been to recognize *de facto* governments as soon as they showed that they were in full control of the situation and rested their authority on the consent of the governed. The actual application of this principle is difficult, as it is hard to lay down any rule which is universally applicable to facts and situations which vary so considerably from time to time. Applying the rule to the case of Norway, the President might with good grace have recognized the complete independence of Norway, as the Norwegian government had been efficiently administered since June 7, and, in addition, had been almost unanimously supported by the people. On July 19, just after Mr. Hauge had made his appeal to the Secretary of State, Mr. Adee, Assistant Secretary of State, sent a memorandum to Mr. Root in which he raised the question whether a *de facto* government actually existed in Norway at that time.[16] "There is a council of ministers," he said, "constituting a provisional interregnum, but there is as yet no regency or Sovereign independently established." He then inquired whether the United States could "regularly recognize the provisional council as a *de facto* unopposed government" or whether it should "await the installation of a Norwegian regency or King?" This memorandum is especially interesting in that it shows how one of the high officials of the department applied the principle of recognition and also explains in part the delay of the United States in taking action. The Norwegian Storthing, as already mentioned, had invested the ministry with regent authority; but the American administration, if we may judge its attitude from this memorandum,

[16] Department of State, Notes from the Legation of Norway, I.

apparently considered that inadequate. Mr. Adee probably felt that the ministry was only a temporary one which was serving pending the establishment of a permanent government.

On October 27, 1905, the Swedish Government formally recognized the independent status of Norway. Two days later Mr. Løvland cabled to Secretary Root and announced the desire of Norway to enter into official relations with the United States. On the next day, October 30, Mr. Root replied that he would be pleased to enter into official relations with Norway. Thus when the official request for recognition was made by Norway, the President responded very promptly.

Surprise and disappointment were expressed by a few Norwegians because the United States Government delayed in granting recognition.[17] Some thought that the case of Norway was so clear that recognition should have been granted very soon after the announcement of the dissolution of the union. Evidently this group did not realize that the problem of recognition is one of the most serious that confronts a government in its relations with other nations. As already indicated, President Roosevelt was given the Norwegian version of the episode and urged to grant recognition both by Norwegians and by Americans of Norwegian birth or extraction. The Swedish version of the matter was also presented to him, especially by the officers of the Swedish-Norwegian legation at Washington. Protests against recognition were made by Americans of Swedish birth or extraction. If the United States, under these conditions, had recognized Norway prior

[17] One of the interesting cases is that of Mr. Gunnar Knudsen, Norwegian Minister of Finance in the new government. Theodore Stanton, an American, wrote an article in the *Independent* on the subject, "Why Norway Is Not a Republic," in which he quotes Mr. Knudsen. On November 27, 1905, Mr. Knudsen said that the moral support of the two great republics, the United States and France, during the crisis of 1905 would have been of great importance in the movement for the establishment of a republic in Norway. He attributed the failure of the movement in part to the attitude of the United States. *Independent*, vol. 60, part 2, p. 1542 (June 28, 1906).

to such action by Sweden, the act would have evoked the praise and gratitude of the Norwegians, to be sure, but it would also have called forth wrath and condemnation from the supporters of the cause of Sweden. The case required caution and deliberation and the President seemed bent on following that course.

As mentioned above, Mr. Hauge in his letter of August 18 to Secretary Root cited the prompt action of the United States in recognizing France in 1870 and Brazil in 1889. True it is that recognition was granted speedily in both instances, but in neither case was there a parallel to that of Norway. France in 1870 and Brazil in 1889 simply changed the internal administration of the government and in each case it was a change from the status of an empire to that of a republic. This was one of the considerations that affected the action of the United States. The Norwegian Storthing, in its address of June 7 to King Oscar II, tendered the crown of Norway to a prince of the Bernadotte family, hence the Americans had little reason to think that Norway seriously contemplated the establishment of a republic.

There are cases, too, where the United States has urged delay in the matter of recognition. Texas, for example, declared her independence of Mexico on March 2, 1836, but recognition of that status by the United States was not granted until March of 1837, in spite of the fact that both the Senate and the House had passed resolutions advocating such action and in spite of the actual participation of a considerable number of Americans in Texan affairs. In the case of the Spanish American colonies an agitation for their recognition took place in Congress over a span of about ten years, but no formal recognition was granted by the United States until 1822. These cases are not mentioned as parallels to that of Norway, but they are cited simply to show that the United States has delayed recognition, even in cases where the interests of American citizens were involved.

Premature recognition is a breach of international law which may lead to war with the offended parent nation. When France during the American revolution recognized the independence of the colonies before Great Britain did so, the act became a cause for war. When the United States in 1903 recognized the independence of Panama prior to Colombia, the latter country took offense. In both of these cases the recognition was granted before the mother country had acted. Sweden, to be sure, was not a parent country, but, as a member of the dual monarchy, naturally had a real interest in any important action that Norway might take. Sweden would very likely have construed an act of premature recognition as an open expression of unfriendliness. Since the United States enjoyed cordial relations with Sweden in 1905, there was ample reason for the use of discretion in handling this delicate matter.

Under the conditions that obtained, delay was the logical procedure, as haste would have led to dissatisfaction and offense. The question was especially difficult on account of the status of Norway in the peculiar dual monarchy, an arrangement which was unusual in world politics. The President in following the program of "watchful waiting" was steering a course similar to that of the other nations of the world. The British Government, according to the *New York Daily Tribune* of July 28, 1905, announced that it could recognize the independence of Norway with perfect propriety, but that out of regard for Sweden it would await a settlement of the union question. The United States, in addition, with prior interests in the Western World, could not consistently recognize the independence of a European nation before nations in the same general region should find it expedient to do so. The Norwegian leaders realized this. Then there is the fact that the delay, which did not result in any serious inconvenience or real difficulty to Norway, apparently was prompted primarily by the attitude of the Swedish Government. This consideration the United States could not brush aside.

As soon as the several formalities incidental to the dissolution of the union were brought to a close, the ways were cleared and the necessary preparations made for the launching of the new ship of state. The usual formalities and ceremonies for such an event were observed. The United States very willingly participated and cheerfully waved its "*bon voyage.*"

IMMIGRATION AND SOCIAL AMELIORATION

By Joseph Schafer

Benjamin Franklin in 1751 wrote in some alarm about the danger that Pennsylvania, established as an English colony, might ultimately become, through unrestricted immigration, a German society. He said: "Why should Pennsylvania, founded by the English, become a colony of aliens, who will shortly be so numerous as to Germanize us, instead of our Anglifying them, and will never adopt our language or customs any more than they can acquire our complexion?" He added the curious observation that the Germans, save only the Saxons, were swarthy in color. We have a good chance in America, he said, to increase "the lovely white and red."[1]

This statement, written one hundred and eighty years ago, is a mild but authentic prophecy of our general discussion of immigration in recent years. The prevailing tone is minatory; the immigrant is under accusation. Symbols of the current thought concerning him are the rubrics under which men write and speak of him. Some of these, selected at random, are: "the road to ruin," "the alien flood," "the swamping of the great race," "closing the gates," "the quota," "national origins," "reforging America."

While no thoughtful patriot can blink the fact that immigration during the past forty years has justified much of the alarm which these expressions disclose, the historian has no difficulty in recalling a series of phrases symbolical of a very different attitude; for up to about half a century ago it was customary to speak of the incoming foreigners as "our adoptive citizens," "our necessary labor supply," "our imported wealth," "seekers of liberty," and "developers of our national resources." True, there were hectic interludes when,

[1] Benjamin Franklin, *Complete Works*, 2: 233–234, 296–299 (edited by John Bigelow — New York, 1887).

due to the acerbity of American party contests, the foreigners got themselves well hated and gave rise to programs for limiting their participation in public life. Also, their nonconformity to certain extreme Sabbatarian and other Puritan customs caused occasional restiveness. But on the whole immigrants were regarded as an unalloyed economic advantage to America and usually as at least not a social detriment.

Analysis will reveal why this was so. For the most part, historians have concerned themselves to explain the forces through which foreigners coming to this country have become "Americanized." It is natural that we should remain measurably unconscious of the ways in which Americans, remaining at home and inviting contact with immigrants, have become "foreignized." Yet it can readily be shown that vital changes in American life, American thinking, and American customs have taken place in consequence of immigration. Perhaps the present is the proper time to call attention to what we owe to the immigrant because the contemplation of this factor should render us more just and politic in our methods of carrying out the national resolve to maintain the purity of our American character and of our institutions.

Carl Schurz, in speaking for the German element, practically spoke for all foreign elements of the earlier immigrations when he wrote: "The mission of Germanism in America, about which some speak so loudly, can consist in nothing other than a modification of the American spirit through the German, while the nationalities melt into one."[2] All were destined to be American, Germans of the second generation adopting the established American language and American institutions; but yet all would be different Americans by reason of the contact of natives with the Germans. What, then, let us ask, are some of the ways in which the American spirit of a century ago could have been modified advantageously?

[2] Letter to his wife, St. Louis, July 8, 1867, in Joseph Schafer, ed., *Intimate Letters of Carl Schurz*, 383 (Madison, Wisconsin, 1928).

Officially, the history of immigration in this country begins about 1820. Despite large aggregate admixtures of other racial stocks with the original English, despite the virtual colonization by foreigners of a few sections like some of the Pennsylvania counties, the American population of 1820 was a reasonably coherent social mass. In the North, its spirit was dominated by a kind of Puritanism, deformed through two centuries of separation from old world influences which, on the one hand, helped to maintain its conscious militant purity, and on the other insinuated into it many a cultural grace to which the conscious Puritan spirit was naturally repugnant.

We are dealing particularly with the North, for during many years prior to the Civil War, immigration touched the South only gingerly, though in the course of the western advance the northern and southern movements coalesced at some points, thereby mutually modifying each other. It was the Yankeefied Puritan, or interior New Englander, who constituted the warp in the great loom of destiny on which a new social pattern for the American North was to be woven. The woof would exhibit diverse non-assimilated strands of the older American stock, but would consist mainly of Irish, Germans, Scandinavians, Bohemians, Dutch, Belgians, and French, aside from the newer accretions from England, Wales, and Scotland.

What kind of "socius," to use the sociologists' nomenclature, was the "Yankee"? He was one of the most remarkable compounds of desirable and undesirable human qualities the world had ever seen. Rendered physically virile and resistant through a hard contest, continued for five generations, with reluctant nature, he was, as so often painted, the beau ideal of the free, continental pioneer. But, at the same time, and due to the same determining causes, he was socially "hard, stubborn, and indomitably intractable." Many Yankees, as Timothy Dwight declared, were true "foresters" — too idle,

"shiftless," "talkative," "passionate," to live in what to him was ordered society. "They are," he wrote, "impatient of the restraints of law, religion, and morality, grumble about the taxes by which rulers, ministers and school masters are supported — at the same time they are usually possessed, in their own view, of uncommon wisdom; understand medical science, politics, and religion better than those who have studied them through life." Providence, he thought, had mercifully segregated those people from the sober, orderly Easterners, and given them a limitless outlet in the West.

Cut off from those contacts with Europe enjoyed by what he regarded as the "effête" East — which meant the narrow rim of seaport cities — the interior New Englander had learned to get along without "culture," as this term was understood in Europe. He was generally literate, he possessed an abounding curiosity, read what came to his hand, had opinions on all subjects. He was proverbially handy with tools, the best axman in the world, a good "bucksaw" carpenter, able also to lay up walls and chimneys with mortar and stone, to tinker iron and tinware, mend harness and perhaps make his children's shoes. In short, he could do all the things which a self-sufficing pioneer life compelled men to learn to do if they were not to suffer severely.

Every western community, after the first primitive period, would be able to show a certain leaven of more cultured Americans from the eastern cities, or from the colleges. These were mainly the families of professional men, of merchants, and manufacturers. But the backbone of society in the western states and territories was rural, and rural life had about it all of the crudity which was characteristic of the interior Yankee "forester" type.

Fortunately, this type did not often or long remain unmodified, and it was such sound and admirable material that it readily took a high polish when subjected to the right environment like the eastern colleges. Also, it responded to the

gentle, indirect influence of changing environments at home. And everywhere in the West, families from one or another of the European states soon mingled with the American pioneers who were building up the new communities. At first these newcomers were not looked upon with social favor, unless they spoke English and were not Catholic. The Irish were obliged to fight for recognition; but, being quite ready to do that, they made their way. The "Dutch" tended to get forward more slowly, but ultimately gained a social foothold through their talent for prosperity and their ability to outskill the Americans in handicrafts, to contribute to social amenities through their music, and to excel in the schools. This statement will apply also to the Norwegians and some of the other classes of immigrants named.

Foreigners were doubtless less inventive than the Yankees. But having been regularly and systematically trained in particular handicrafts, their skill as shoemakers, blacksmiths, wagon makers, carpenters, and cabinet makers, mill wrights, plasterers, masons, bricklayers, locksmiths, jewelers, watchmakers, easily surpassed that of native practitioners of the same crafts. This was soon recognized. In the rural neighborhood best known to the writer in boyhood the mechanic arts were monopolized by Germans, Scandinavians, and Bohemians, native mechanics having been eliminated promptly in the competition with European trained workers. Equally important was the appeal of young men wishing to learn any of the "trades," to these foreign born masters, whom they were glad to serve as apprentices. In this way the skills developed in the course of ages under the most approved systems of transmission, came to be naturalized in all our western states, contributing to the building up not only of our material civilization, but of our social morale as well.

The above, however, represents only the cruder phase of Europe's influence on American life, as exerted through the immigrations. The immigrants in many cases, and those in

the old world who sponsored them, were well aware of other ways in which they might modify the American spirit. In his poem *Die Auswanderer des Ahrthals* (The Emigrants from the Ahr Valley), Gottfried Kinkel admonishes the emigrating family:

> So zieht denn hin mit eurem kargen Gute,
> Ein Einzelkorn in jener Völkersaat!
> Und wenn in Zukunft aus gemischtem Blute
> Ein einig Volk wird, eins in Sinn und That.
> Dann gebt hinzu die Keusche deutsche Ehre,
> Dann haltet fest den redlich deutschen Muth,
> Mit frommem Sinne pflegt des Geists Altäre —
> Und weckt im kalten Volk der Künste Glut!

This may be rendered, though with much artistic loss, as follows:

> Go forward with your scant supply of goods,
> A single grain in yon new nation's seed!
> And if in future out of mingled blood
> Comes forth a people one in thought and deed,
> Contribute ye the German honor chaste,
> Let not the candid German mood depart.
> In piety serve altars of the spirit,
> And wake in colder hearts the love of art.

The poem was written in 1842. That was the year the emigration fever first struck the beautiful, retired, peaceful Ahr valley, a kind of earthly paradise to students from the near-by university of Bonn, whose vacation excursions were so often directed thither, especially in the season of wine making. The upper reaches of the valley, used for general agriculture and pasturage, had been growing steadily less productive with the years, while the population had been increasing. Poverty for many families was the result. In the wine growing middle and lower sections, a succession of partial or total failures of the grape crop brought hardships also to many vintners, the agricultural aristocracy of the Rhineland. Hence, both types of cultivators were ready for a new opening and the movement became intense. Hardly a family in the

upper valley but sent one or more of its members to Michigan; some villages were almost depopulated. One village considered giving up its organization, selling its commons to the neighboring lord, and going to America in a body, "the priest at the head with banner and cross."[3]

These people are described as a sober, industrious, hard working peasantry, who had been growing poorer and poorer for a number of years, practically from 1804, when a terrific freshet covered much of the best cultivable land with sand and gravel, rendering it almost worthless. What could such folk do, to advance the "love of art" according to the poet's injunction?

Limitations to their efficacy as inspirers of beauty would quickly appear. Yet, in some directions even such settlers could help the Americans. Having, in the homeland, beautiful churches, some of them three or four hundred years old, their instinctive taste in architecture would lay the basis for improvement in one direction. The rich carvings of chancel, altar, and pulpit, the paintings by old masters on the walls, the sculptures in the niches and the fabricated treasures of the vestry, exhibited on the high festivals — all these, though matters of course to Ahr villagers at home, would become objects of longing to the exiles and would be provocative also of pride and of emulation. Then there was the organization of the church music, in which a retired German, French, or Italian village might easily supply ideals to the proudest city churches in America. There were the folk tales and folk songs, which wove a mystical epic about the castle ruins so romantically crowning the heights in the view of all valley dwellers. There were the colorful pageants, such as that of *Corpus Christi*, when the ancient society of the *Schutzen* (guard) fully armed and in brilliant medieval regalia, led the procession, choral music and orchestral music alternating effectively during the progress of the dignified celebration. Then, too, the

[3] Kinkel, *Die Ahr* (Bonn, 1845).

festivities of May day and the religious and social emphasis on the month of May help to explain the passion for beauty in growing plants which was a feature in the transit of culture to the New World. Though Americans, too, loved flowers, there was among the Yankees no such worship of Flora as one is conscious of among the Irish and the Germans. That gentle goddess meliorates the seasons of spring and summer. For the rigors of winter the German Christmas proved so enticing to Americans as gradually to displace the forbidding Puritan conception of that significant anniversary.

We have spoken of "common" immigrants and of what they had to give to Americans in return for the gifts of political freedom, equality before the law, and economic opportunity which our new society conferred upon them and which, through the agency of free popular instruction, and of participation in public affairs so rapidly changed them from Europeans to Americans. The larger influence was exerted by highly educated physicians, theologians, journalists, lawyers, poets, orators, statesmen. Many such were among the immigrants from the countries mentioned, as witness the names of Edward G. Ryan, Edward Salomon, Hans C. Heg, and Carl Jonas of Wisconsin; Koerner, Hecker, and Hoffman of Illinois; Stallo of Ohio; and Knute Nelson of Minnesota — to mention only a few and of these only men who engaged prominently in public life. Religious inequalities, political persecution, and the call to lead their countrymen settled in the New World were among the motives bringing to America a representation of the intellectual aristocracy of Europe.

The immigration of such men affected the whole current of American thought and training; it laid the basis for a more general cultural interchange with Europe through the sending abroad of American students; it gave the masses of the American people concrete proofs of the superiority in many respects of the Old World achievements over New World achievements, and stimulated our desire to learn.

Americans are aware, at least dimly, of what our present culture owes to the adoption half a century ago of the European idea of university training for scholarship and the professions. Such an early ascent to the intellectual planes of Göttingen, Upsala, and Paris would not have been possible but for the intellectual ministry of a Lieber, a Sylvester, an Agassiz. The mission of immigration of the best nineteenth century types, to paraphrase Carl Schurz, has been nothing other than to produce a modification of the American spirit through the supplementing attributes of the immigrating groups, while the nationalities have melted into one — a higher American type.

THE MIND OF THE SCANDINAVIAN IMMIGRANT

By George M. Stephenson

It is a singular fact that it is only within recent years that historians have become alive to the fertile field of investigation offered by the emigration of over thirty million human beings from Europe to the United States within a period of approximately one hundred years. Although reams and reams of paper have been consumed in volumes relating the story of the migration of individual stocks and their fortunes in the New World, only a comparatively few pages have been given to a fundamental inquiry into the causes underlying the phenomenon. It is comparatively easy to make a list of "causes"; and the erudite man may even divide them into "primary" and "secondary"; but with the accumulation of documents and the publication of monographs and articles it is dawning on us that the individual immigrant was the creature of a complicated environment, whose mind reacted to a variety of stimuli. If we could adopt the methods so popular in certain fields of human knowledge and place under observation several millions of immigrants, who knows but that the data thus obtained would not create a revolution? Unfortunately the most approved methods of solving the problems of human behavior were not in use in the years when the emigration fever wrought its greatest havoc, which fact makes it necessary for the historian who wishes to understand the mind of the immigrant to work out his own method, however unscientific it may be. Without slurring over the causes to which emigration is usually attributed and without eulogizing the individuals who made up the mighty horde of migrants as "God's chosen people," the fact remains that the immigrant was a "type," possessing certain characteristics that set him off from those he left behind. His mind reacted to stimuli that made little impression on the stay-at-home; at

least the reaction was not the same. Of course, there were thousands who were itching to go to America who were compelled to remain at home for various reasons; some even had their trunks packed when fate intervened. In any event, this type of stay-at-home had the "mind of the immigrant"; it was not his fault that the lure of the "dollar land" was defeated.

It is the purpose of the present paper to attempt a brief analysis of the mind of the Scandinavian immigrant, more particularly the man and the woman who left Norway and Sweden about the middle of the nineteenth century, — an analysis based on a study of the "America letters" and propaganda literature, some of which is familiar to members of the Norwegian-American Historical Association through its publications. It is, of course, true that Norway and Sweden are not identical, and that the emigrants from both countries insist that there is a vast difference between their respective inhabitants; nevertheless, there is a remarkable similarity in tone and contents in the letters from Norwegians and Swedes in America to their friends back home. America made the same appeal to Swedes and Norwegians, and their criticisms of their native lands were rooted in the same grounds of discontent. Of the two countries Norway was the more democratic, but King Democracy reigns just as triumphantly in Swedish-America as in Norwegian-America. Making due allowance for individuals, the Swedish immigrant was bitten by the same germ of democracy as was the Norwegian, although the disease may have run different courses. If we may believe Johan Bojer, the returned Norwegian immigrant took fully as much satisfaction in keeping his hat securely on his head in the presence of the parish pastor as did the Swede who sojourned for a few weeks in his native land. In a real sense both were nonconformists in social matters, although there was possibly greater finesse in the nonconformity of the Swede.

With the exception of comparatively few which were the products of pens guided by ministers and other men who had imbibed more or less freely at the fountain of formal education, the great mass of "America letters" were written by men whose literary style and storehouse of knowledge had not been enriched by pursuing courses in institutions of equal rank with American high schools and colleges; indeed, few of the earlier immigrants had experienced the drudgery of the average American school boy, nor had they known many of his happy hours. The boyhood of the Scandinavian-American immigrant was spent amid the mountains, hills, and stones of a parish where life was a ceaseless struggle to wrest from a stubborn soil and a fickle nature an existence that made little provision for play and recreation. The wonderful long summer days and the even more wonderful light summer nights were succeeded all too swiftly by the seemingly interminable drab and dismal winter months, when long evenings were given to home sloyd and perhaps to meditation before the open hearth.

In reading the Scandinavian "America letters" one has difficulty in keeping in mind that most of them were written by men whose education was meager. This fact is obscured by keen comparisons between the old country and the new and by the sound instincts of the writers. The spelling is faulty and the punctuation would not pass muster in an elementary course in rhetoric; but from these documents, grown yellow with age, one gains a very good understanding of the causes of emigration and of the hearts and souls of the immigrants. The writers must have thought deeply on the problems that confronted their communities as well as on those that concerned them individually. Unmistakably these letters were written by people of a race given to meditation and introspection, although frequently enthusiasm for the adopted land ran away with their better judgment. There is a certain bitterness, too, that crops out and gives a clue to the hardships and

injustices imposed upon them by an inexorable environment and social discrimination.

In spite of the fact that even the Scandinavian-American of the second generation is more or less a formalist in social intercourse — America cannot work all her miracles in the span of one lifetime — the welcome relief from the excessive formalism of the old countries which America afforded goes a long way towards explaining the immigrant's conception of the New World as a Utopia. It is true that there never was a feudal system in Norway and Sweden and that titles of nobility were abolished in the former country early in the nineteenth century, but the individual was bound by conventions and regulations which were intolerable once he had breathed the free air of the frontier or felt the breeze of it through the vents provided by the "America letters." Ole Rynning is hardly a "typical" immigrant, but what he wrote about freedom and equality is representative of what thousands of Scandinavians thought. "For the comfort of the faint-hearted," he wrote in his remarkable little pamphlet, "I can, therefore, declare with truth that here, as in Norway, there are laws, government, and authorities. But everything is designed to maintain the natural freedom and equality of men. In regard to the former, every one is free to engage in whatever honorable occupation he wishes, and to go wherever he wishes without having to produce a passport, and without being detained by customs officials. Only the real criminal is threatened with punishment by law." Slavery was the great blot on the American escutcheon; but if a solitary individual had thought that there was the faintest possibility of being reduced to the condition of servitude, he would never have given emigration the remotest thought. If ever human beings were buoyed up by the hope of liberty, the Scandinavian immigrants were. The Scandinavian *bonde* in his respective countries is celebrated in story and song for his sterling qualities, and as a farmer in Minnesota and North Dakota he

retains them; but with all his good traits — industry, patience, honesty, fortitude — he is a hard-headed, stubborn, close-fisted, and contentious individual, as many country pastors would testify — in confidence. He is also proud, sometimes offensively haughty. There is a saying, "There is only one thing worse than a proud Swede, and that is a proud Norwegian." (The order is reversed in Norwegian circles, no doubt.) What a boon was America to that type of person!

This is the reaction of the Iowa frontier on the mind of a Swedish *bonde*, Peter Cassel, who at the age of fifty-five sold his property and recruited a company of immigrants to accompany him and his family in a venture which in the history of Swedish immigration occupies a position comparable to that of the "sloop folk" in the annals of Norwegian immigration. "Freedom and equality are the fundamental principles of the constitution of the United States," he wrote. "There is no such thing as class distinction here, no counts, barons, lords or lordly estates. One man is as good as another, and every one lives in the unrestricted enjoyment of personal liberty. A Swedish *bonde*, raised under oppression and accustomed to poverty and want, here finds himself elevated to a new world, as it were, where all his former hazy ideas of a society conforming more closely to nature's laws are suddenly made real and he enjoys a satisfaction in life that he has never before experienced." After reading this letter a fair-minded editor of a Swedish newspaper wrote that it gave an insight into the inmost thoughts of the average citizen of his country and in that quotation he found the magic formula by which the desire to emigrate to America was chiefly aroused. If the sentiment of Cassel were unique in the "America letters," we might be inclined to accept the statement of the editor as a bit of propaganda from the pen of a man interested in the liberal reform movement of his time; but we are overpowered by the evidence in many other letters that America was a "land of Canaan" which gave sustenance not only to the flesh but also to the inward man.

It may be treading on uncertain ground to stress the influence of religious conditions on emigration, but to say that the Lutheran Church placed an indelible stamp on the soul of the immigrant is well within the bounds of truth. There can be no disagreement among historians on this point. Whatever may be said against the polity and practice of the established church, some of which was purely formal, certain very desirable and sterling traits were implanted in the people. The teachings of the Church emphasized above all else respect for God, Church, government, and superiors, and posited as one of the highest obligations of citizenship obedience to law — something the immigrant carried with him to America, to the everlasting blessing of himself and to the immense profit of his adopted country. The clergyman was a very influential man in his community, his position commanding great respect even from men whose attitude towards religion assumed the color of indifference or hostility. The pastor was the cultured man in his parish and on numerous occasions came into personal contact with its citizens. In spite of its hierarchal character, especially in Sweden, the Church embodied certain democratic elements, such as allowing qualified citizens a voice in its government and in the choice of pastor. Once inducted into office, however, the pastor enjoyed a high degree of independence, which sometimes was abused. He would be a rash man, indeed, who would refuse to remove his hat upon meeting the pastor — a luxury in which only a reckless returned emigrant would indulge in order to advertise the emancipation which citizenship in the American Republic conferred — greatly to the astonishment — and probably the envy — of the witnesses to the spectacle!

The church was the community center, a meeting place for all. The peasant rarely failed to attend the Sunday service, even though the church was some distance from his home. Here he would meet friends and acquaintances, learn the gossip of the parish, and hear read from the pulpit marriage banns,

notices of deaths during the week, official documents, and announcements of a purely secular nature. The services were long, and one cannot but marvel at the patience and hardihood of men, women, and children who sat through them in the days when heating apparatus were unknown in ecclesiastical edifices. The church usually stood on a commanding site and close by was the parsonage, where the pastor met his parishioners, who called upon him to perform ministerial acts at occasions full of import to themselves and their families. Americans familiar with these conditions understand why the rural landscapes of Minnesota are dotted with churches where services are still celebrated in the languages of Norway and Sweden.

It is not merely a coincidence that the stream of emigration from the Scandinavian peninsula took its beginnings at the time when a new day was dawning in its religious history. The Scandinavians departed from their homes with a rich religious heritage, and of those who retained membership in religious organizations the great majority were heirs of the Lutheran reformation; but not a few had already imbibed freely of faiths more or less divergent from the Augsburg Confession before casting their lot with the land where the adherents of all creeds were privileged to contend for the faith. Norway abolished her most obnoxious law restricting religious freedom a generation before her neighbor took similar action; but during the first twenty-five years of intensive emigration from the two countries, persecution or discrimination rooted in religious intolerance was a factor. It is highly significant that most of the leaders in the Augustana Synod, the largest body among the Swedes in America, have been openly hostile to a "state church" in every land and lukewarm — to say the least — toward the ecclesiastical system established by law in Sweden. It is almost ironical that the "official" relations between the churches outside of the Augustana Synod and their brethren in the faith across the water have been far more cordial than have the relations between the established

church in Sweden and its "daughter church" in the United States.

One of the earliest Scandinavian synods in the new country represents an effort at coöperation between like-minded Swedes and Norwegians, who had come under the influence of religious trends set in motion by pietistic pastors and lay preachers like Hauge, Rosenius, and Fjellstedt. Coming to America with liberal and "unionistic" tendencies, Paul Anderson, Ole Andrewson, and O. J. Hatlestad felt at home with L. P. Esbjörn, T. N. Hasselquist, and Erland Carlsson in the Synod of Northern Illinois and later, after the secession from that organization, in the Scandinavian Augustana Synod. Without entering into the details of the organization of the early Scandinavian synods and without differentiating between the various religious types represented by Eielsen, Preus, Anderson, Esbjörn, Hasselquist, Norelius, and a host of other clergymen and laymen, it is clear that their conception of the Church was at variance with the established church at home, either in theory or practice or both, whether of a liberal turn of mind in doctrine or not. It is to be noted that there were no bishops; and if Preus and his kind resented the strictures of Paul Anderson against the Church of Norway, the problems of both and their methods of solving them were quite different from those of the pastor of a parish in Norway. In similar fashion did the Swedish Lutheran pioneer pastors reply to the agitation of Baptist, Methodist, and Mission Friend preachers against the Church of Sweden; but their own ecclesiastical organization contradicted their own arguments, although the "free" pastors seldom admitted it.

The Scandinavian immigrants, whether they called themselves Lutheran, Eric-Jansonist, Baptist, Methodist, Mission Friend, or agnostic, were "America-minded" in religion, in spite of the fact that some of them lamented the dangers that threatened their faith in the new environment. In any

event, one finds little evidence that any considerable number would have voted in favor of establishing the ecclesiastical system of their native lands in the adopted country, assuming that such an establishment was feasible. America satisfied their yearning for a better religious and moral order, in which the common man could "witness" for the truth as well as the man who had taken holy orders. We need not visualize the immigrants as paragons of virtue in order to understand why many of them wrote pæans of praise for the American pastor and heaped condemnation on the pastor in the established church and why some of them even admitted that it was only after coming to America that they knew what it was to lead the life of a true Christian. They speedily fell in with the American spirit and adopted certain "new measures," of which the most important was the Sunday school; and synods and conferences adopted resolutions favoring the "Maine law" and other prohibitory measures, and most of the members "voted as they shouted" at the polls.

One searches the "America letters" in vain for expressions of condemnation with reference to the American political system. A government that could elevate men like Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Jackson to lofty eminence was too good to allow any minor defects to cause disharmony in the song of praise. Citizenship in the Republic where all men were equal before the law was too great a privilege to reject. Norway in the nineteenth century experienced a renaissance of nationalism dating from the "Seventeenth of May," but the Swedish immigrant left his country when national feeling was at a very low ebb. This probably accounts in part for the greater solidarity among the Norwegian-Americans; there is no evidence, however, that the Norwegian felt greater pangs of remorse when he abjured allegiance to his former sovereign, who was also the king of Sweden, than did the king's former subjects in the other partner to the union. The broad acres

of his Minnesota or Iowa farm, perhaps a present from Uncle Sam, caused the Scandinavian to forget any favors that may have been showered on him in the days of old.

The industry of the Scandinavian is proverbial; but in some instances his mind reacted unfavorably to the hard work expected of him in America. It required some adjustment to get in step with the speedy army of American workingmen. "Many are under the impression that if they can only get to America everything needed will come as a matter of course — but the opposite is the truth," wrote a journeyman blacksmith from Norway. "The work is harder than anything experienced in Norway: early and late one must work to earn one's bread." Others admitted that they never knew what hard work was until they stooped their necks to the yoke in America, but there was a certain pride in the admission. There was something about the great distances in America, the hustle and bustle, the "go-ahead" spirit, the rapidly growing communities and cities, plus the ownership of a farm and a bank account in the future, that buoyed them up and eventually made them victims of that American optimism which makes every town "the best town in the best county in the best state in the best country in the world."

The conservatism of the Scandinavian-American is a factor that every astute politician reckons with, although election statistics sometimes discredit the Norwegians in the eyes of the incurable standpatters. Even the Swedes on occasions have been known to furnish disappointment to old line Republicans; but through the decades in which the Scandinavians have been a factor in politics the radical has found their communities sterile soil for the propagation of his doctrines. The independence of the Norwegian and the sensitiveness of the Swede have probably upset the political bandwagon a time or two, but the memory compartment of the Scandinavian mind has no greater capacity than that of the average voter. When the

excitement of the moment has worn off, party regularity is again in order.

The spaciousness of America was a welcome relief from the cramped quarters of the Scandinavian parish. In America the immigrant felt that he was a part of something great and big; his imagination had free play, and the air castle he had built before the open hearth in the long winter nights was transformed into a substantial residence, surrounded by barns and sheds that housed scores of cattle and hogs and thousands of bushels of wheat and corn. And when he paid his taxes he knew that he was contributing to the support of a government that let him alone and did not besiege him with a corps of officious and perhaps superfluous officials.

The Scandinavian-American wrote about all these things to his former neighbors, and their minds were stirred to action. Many sighed because passage money was not in sight; many more worked, borrowed, and begged until the necessary amount was realized. Thus was the Scandinavian peninsula drained of hundreds of thousands of "America-minded" sons and daughters, whose imaginary picture of America proved to conform closely to the reality. If the lapse of time made the heart grow fonder for Scandinavia, a visit of six weeks in the home parish made it still easier to purchase a ticket to the "land of Canaan."

THREE CIVIL WAR LETTERS FROM 1862[1]

TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY BRYNJOLF J. HOVDE

INTRODUCTION

In a court of law the evidence of an eye-witness is highly prized; it is no less valuable before the judgment bar of history. This does not mean, however, that the testimony of the witness is to be taken as final truth on all the points he touches upon. His testimony must be subjected to the cross-examination of critical study; and in the course of that cross-examination it may be brought to light that the witness was not a good observer, or that he was not in the proper position to observe the whole action but only a part of it, or that in his statement of what he saw he tends to exaggerate one part and minimize another part of the action. Thereupon his testimony must be compared with that of other witnesses, and its parts properly weighed. When this process of critical study is finished, the testimony is assigned its proper place in the great body of evidence on the particular incident to which it relates, and it is quite possible that, upon reading the correct and complete account of the incident as based on the whole body of evidence, the eye-witness may himself exclaim: "This is not what I saw!" And he will be perfectly justified in that exclamation, for he did not see all that, but merely a part of it. It is as such fragmentary but first-hand evidence that the Civil War letters that follow are to be read.

The first two letters are devoted mainly to a description of the battle between the "Monitor" and the "Merrimac," the significance of which is common knowledge. These ships were

[1] The three letters herewith submitted were discovered in the files of the Norwegian newspaper *Morgenbladet* (Oslo), under date of May 27, 1862, and July 24, 1862, respectively, by Professor Theodore C. Blegen. He made copies of them, and sent them to the translator with the request that he convert them into English and edit them.

not the first ironclads in existence, as Americans are prone to believe, for both the French and the British had armored vessels before 1862. But this was the first time an ironclad had operated actively against wooden ships, and the engagement on March 8 conclusively proved the superiority of the former. It was also the first time that ironclad had contended against ironclad (March 9), and both parties claimed the victory. The real importance of the battle lies in the fact that on the eighth the Federal Navy's control of the seas, without which the war could not be won, seemed doomed, whereas, on the ninth, the "Monitor" regained it. The testimony of an eye-witness of the battle will therefore always be important.

The third letter describes certain aspects of the Peninsular Campaign in 1862 under General McClellan. The general plan of McClellan was to transport his large army by sea to Fortress Monroe and then move up the peninsula, cross the Chickahominy River, and thus surround and capture Richmond. The plan was entirely feasible, and with McClellan's superiority in numbers should have been successful. Everything, however, depended on quick action, for if the Confederates were given time to concentrate their forces, nothing but the most painstaking siege could drive them out of their fortifications. But, instead of boldly throwing his splendid army into action, as Lincoln wished him to do, General McClellan proceeded with the utmost caution and wasted time in siege operations where storming parties should have been sent in. In the latter part of May, Stonewall Jackson was creating a diversion in the Shenandoah Valley by threatening Washington. It was the psychological moment for McClellan to strike the Confederate General Joseph Johnston a sharp blow: Jackson being away up north he could not assist Johnston, and nothing would so effectually relieve Washington as to place Richmond in imminent jeopardy. McClellan seems to have realized this and to have prepared for the long expected attack. But he proceeded too cautiously, as usual, and General Johnston anticipated him

by attacking first. Thus was fought the battle of Fair Oaks or Seven Pines. The Union Army was on the Chickahominy River; two of McClellan's five corps, Keyes' and Heinzelman's, had crossed it and were in direct contact with the enemy; the other three corps were in comparative safety on the north side of the river. Johnston determined to attack the two exposed corps. Our letter-writer must have been with one or the other of these, probably with Keyes on the left wing, for he seems to have got into Fair Oaks Swamp. A heavy rainfall on the night of May 30 caused troop movements to become very difficult, and the water in the river rose to a point where the bridges might be swept away at any moment, thus cutting the two exposed corps off from both assistance and retreat. Johnston attacked on the morning of May 31, and drove the Union left back about two miles; McClellan did not send assistance at once, but merely ordered General Sumner to hold his corps in readiness to move at a moment's notice; but Sumner did more than that, — he marched his corps to the bridges, and upon finally receiving orders to cross he did so at once, and saved the day. On the morning of June 1 the battle was resumed, and now the Union forces drove the Confederates back to the point which they had occupied when the fighting first began. McClellan reported a victory, but in reality it was the Confederates who gained: they had effectually stopped the Union advance for the moment, thus gaining time for Jackson to move south; they had inflicted heavy losses upon the Union Army without sacrificing any territory; and they had again taught their opponents respect for their fighting qualities. McClellan never again had so favorable an opportunity to strike at Richmond, and the summer passed without decisive results.[2]

The identity of the writer remains a mystery. The letters

[2] James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States*, 4: 24–27; *War of the Rebellion. Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, series 1, vol. 11, p. 38–44.

were unsigned in *Morgenbladet*. The only tangible clue that might perhaps lead to his identification is his statement towards the close of the first letter to the effect that his was "the First Regiment"; but an attempt to discover which First Regiment he belonged to has been unsuccessful. There were no less than seven First Regiments of infantry and artillery (the writer does not indicate in which arm he served) engaged in the battle of Fair Oaks or Seven Pines,[3] among them the First New York Light Artillery, which was also at Newport News at the time of the battle between the "Monitor" and the "Merrimac." He may therefore have belonged to it, especially as he mentions looking forward to the enjoyment of a furlough in New York. However, as far as we know, it was not this regiment, but Companies A and K of the Twentieth Indiana Infantry, which were ordered down upon the beach at Newport News on March 8.[4] It is therefore impossible to say with any certainty that he was a member of the First New York Light Artillery. The letters merely indicate that he was a common soldier, very sure of the righteousness of the Union cause, normal in his love of amusement and in his dislike of death and suffering, and steadfast in his courage.

FROM THE BATTLEFRONT IN NORTH AMERICA

Extract From a Letter by a Norwegian, Who is Serving as a Soldier in the Army of the Northern States

Camp Butler, Newport News, Va.,
March 31, 1862.

. . . [*Sic*] Good Heavens! What an unpleasant racket grenades and bombs have created about me since I wrote to you last! And I consider myself fortunate that up to the present moment

[3] Frederick H. Dyer, *A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion*, 901 (Des Moines, 1908).

[4] Report of Brigadier General Jos. K. F. Mansfield, commanding the First Brigade, First Division, Department of Virginia, at Newport News, March 10, 1862. *Official Records*, series 1, vol. 9, p. 4–5.

I have escaped destruction. About the middle of February, together with a few thousand men, I was shipped by vessel to a place some miles away from here to attack some enemy batteries which were always causing trouble for such of our ships as were destined to our great Fortress Monroe. We were aided by thirteen steam gunboats and some larger warships. Early on the morning of the fourteenth we neared our destination, and it did not take long before the thundering began. The enemy directed his fire at our ships, but received in return a shower of bombs, which spread death and destruction. After two or three hours of this cannonade the enemy slackened his fire, and then we were hurriedly brought ashore in small boats and achieved a landing without any loss of life. We were immediately ordered into formation, and charged the earthworks with fixed bayonets and shrill hurrahs and other noise and yelling, more like the shrieking of pigs than anything else. This business of making such a terrible noise is a peculiar characteristic of the Irish. We made short work, and our losses were small. The enemy fled when he saw that his resistance was in vain. We took more than thirteen hundred prisoners that day. There were many dead and wounded.[5] Of course, it becomes a habit by and by, but it is, nevertheless, very shocking to observe one's fellow men being wounded and maimed; personally, I have stood above some such completely overcome and almost speechless from uneasiness of conscience and with tears in my eyes. "Well," I have thought, "what harm have we done one another? None — no, none whatever. We have never seen one another, never so much as exchanged an impolite-

[5] The editor has been unable to find any record of this engagement. There is no mention of it in Charles R. Cooper, *Chronological and Alphabetical Record of the Engagements of the Great Civil War* (Milwaukee, 1904), in Dyer, *Compendium*, or in *Official Records*. It seems strange that this is the case, if the writer has correctly described the size of the expedition, and if he is right in his estimate of the number of prisoners taken. There is a bare possibility that he may be referring to the seizure of Roanoke Island, off the coast of North Carolina. But the enemy batteries there could hardly threaten ships bound for Fortress Monroe; furthermore, that engagement took place on February 8 and 9, 1862, not on February 14, although there was intermittent fighting there throughout February, but again none, apparently, on the fourteenth.

ness, and still we are like ferocious tigers attacking their prey." But as soon as the enemy surrenders, that is to say, lays down his weapons — well, then he is no longer an enemy, but, when the battle is finished, goes arm in arm with us, and then we joke and talk about all manner of things as though we were old friends. In this little story you have a picture of the world which was formerly unclear to me, but which has now become a reality. Fourteen days later I again safely saw Newport News. We had been forced occasionally to suffer hardships, and had been forced to lie out under the open sky in rain and storm; but after getting a few days' rest we were in as fine fettle as before.

Days passed, and then came the eighth of March. It was a beautiful spring day, mild and pleasant, typical of what at home in Norway we call "the smiling spring." Together with my company, I was on guard duty at some distance from the encampment proper. We had finished our midday meal,[6] and thereafter several of us crawled up on the roof to look out over the bay and across to the other side, in order, if possible, to discover something of the enemy's movements over there. We had a small glass through which to look, and which passed from hand to hand. At the mouth of Norfolk harbor (Norfolk is a city about three Norwegian miles from here) we discovered some steamships heading out and steering a course straight toward us. We did not suppose, however, that they would dare to come the whole way, inasmuch as there were two frigates just off the shore with about a hundred guns, and since we ourselves had a battery of the heaviest cannon (Hervy qveen [*sic*]) on the shore.

Among the approaching enemy ships we observed one which had the appearance of a house-roof with the corners broken off. Anything like that, of course, we had never seen before, but when we recovered from our amazement we soon concluded that it must be the vessel of which the newspapers had spoken, and which was supposed to be constructed of iron so as to be bullet proof. The signal station waved with its numbered flag a message

[6] According to the report of Flag-Officer Buchanan, who commanded the Confederate squadron, the "Merrimac" left Norfolk at about 11:00 A. M.; all Union authorities agree that it was shortly after noon, which was probably the time they sighted her. *Official Records*, series 1, vol. 9, p. 8–10.

of the impending danger, and suddenly we heard the alarm drum — the piercing note of a trumpet — and the shout, "Fall in!" There was great excitement. Some ran at top speed; others rode so fast that the bellies of their horses seemed to touch the ground. They had to inform and to strengthen the outposts, in case there should be a land attack as well.[7] The field artillery was harnessed, the cavalry stood ready to make its dash at the first word of command, but we had to remain at our posts for the time being, and I was thus able to observe every movement. . . . [*Sic*] The moment was at hand, and there was a death-like silence in the air. The vessel with the above mentioned flat roof was now near the shore and steered straight at one of the frigates.[8] Then the firing began. More than fifty cannon balls were directed at the roof, but with great surprise we noted that they had no effect; they merely glanced off and spent themselves. One salvo after another was delivered by our cannon, but to no purpose. Half an hour passed by, — and one of our frigates sank, taking with her over two hundred seamen. The other ship had been run aground, as she had been so badly damaged at the water line that she was on the point of sinking.[9] The unfortunates who

[7] This particular passage is written with such a fine sense of climax as to compel the conclusion that the writer was no mere drudge, but a man of imagination and of education. The Confederate land forces did approach within a few hundred yards of the Union outposts at Newport News, and held themselves in readiness to attack. The evident preparedness and superior strength of the Union forces, however, made an attack foolhardy. See report of Major General John B. Magruder, C. S. A., commanding the Department of the Peninsula, in *Official Records*, series 1, vol. 9, p. 13–14.

[8] The "Merrimac" began firing with her bow gun as soon as she came within range. She passed the U. S. S. "Congress," and steered straight for the "Cumberland," firing all the time, and rammed her, "causing her almost immediately to sink." See the Secretary of the Navy's annual report, December 1, 1862, printed in *Official Records*, series 1, vol. 9, p. 1–4. It is rather strange that the writer fails to mention the ramming of the "Cumberland." The crew remained on duty, firing the guns as long as they were above water. Therefore the writer was probably not far off in estimating that "more than two hundred seamen" went down with her.

[9] This was the "Congress." There is no official evidence that she was so badly damaged that she was on the point of sinking before she was run aground. That maneuver was executed to save her from the vicious prow of the "Merrimac." *Official Records*, series 1, vol. 9, p. 1–4.

were on board her were fired upon by many of the enemy ships, which had by this time arrived.[10] Those who were not killed or wounded were forced to seek safety on land. After a while the vessel blew up, and the explosion was so violent that I was thrown to the ground. Thereupon we who were on land came in for our share of punishment, and for more than two hours seven vessels hurled bombs into our encampment. A large part of the roof of our barracks was shot away, but there was nobody at home. Still, we were not safe anywhere. Some soldiers, I among them, were sent down toward the shoreline; we were to see to it that no enemy troops effected a landing.[11] We were under fire several times and many bombs fell about us, one directly in our midst. — The officers commanded: "Fall down!" an order which was instantly obeyed. — The bomb exploded, but all that happened was that some earth was spattered on us, though two men were slightly wounded. Had we not that time been lying flat on the ground, many of us would have perished, for the projectile bursts asunder only after it has struck the ground, and therefore the fragments are likely to spread upward or horizontally. While I am speaking to you of bombs I had better explain

[10] Buchanan reported that six Confederate vessels took part in the battle, three steamers and three gunboats, the latter carrying only one gun each. *Official Records*, series 1, vol. 9, p. 8.

[11] At this point it would seem that the writer's eagerness to get on with his story to the part where he himself played an active rôle leads him into error. It was not *after* the explosion of the magazine of the "Congress," but several hours *before* that "a number of troops were sent down toward the shoreline"; in fact, it was while the Confederates were trying to float her and carry her off. Her officers had hoisted white flags, but General Mansfield, commanding on land, sent two companies of riflemen (which, however, do not seem to have been from any "First Regiment," to which the writer says later that he belonged) down to the shore, opened fire with all his ordnance, and "retook" the "Congress," *i. e.*, drove the Confederates off. Thereupon the Confederates fired hot shot into her and set her afire. She blew up, according to Flag-Officer Buchanan "a few minutes past midnight," according to General Mansfield "about 2 o'clock in the morning," and therefore not "after a [short] while," as stated by the writer. Inasmuch as the shore party was probably not over seven hundred yards distant from the "Congress," it is not unlikely that the explosion threw the writer to the ground. *Official Records*, series 1, vol. 9, p. 4–10.

how they are made. The ones which I mentioned were as large as two human heads and weighed about a hundred pounds. The bomb is of hollow metal, filled with powder, and is shot from a cannon; a fuse is ignited in the process of firing, and this burns until it reaches the powder; then it explodes, and can kill as many as a hundred people when it lands in a close group. The bombardment continued until darkness fell; then the enemy withdrew to rest until the next day. That day arrived after a sleepless night, for we were under arms throughout the whole of it. A steam frigate had come to our assistance from Fortress Monroe,[12] but had had the misfortune to run aground; she struggled all night to get loose, but unsuccessfully, and now awaited the same fate that had befallen the two vessels that had come to such a sorry end the day before.

At dawn the guns began to thunder again and the projectiles to shriek through the air. When it had become light we were able to see still another peculiar ship that was booming away most terribly. We could see her move back and forth, but we could not distinguish anything, except something that looked like a great *round basin*. We saw her firing upon the infernal machine that had done so much damage the preceding day, — consequently we, too, must have acquired a monstrosity of some sort;[13] and for several hours these two were engaged in combat, without doing each other any perceptible injury, even though they rammed into one another. However — nothing availed. During the afternoon the enemy retired. It was easy to understand that he must be weary of the game. Later on we learned that a shot had entered the hull and had killed and wounded eleven men. That is the end of this tale, though it might be added that the United States lost five million dollars and a few hundred lives.[14] Since

[12] The "Minnesota."

[13] The "Monitor," of course. She had long been expected by the Confederates; on February 24 Major General Benjamin Huger, C. S. A., at Norfolk, wrote to the Secretary of War at Richmond that "the Ericsson [iron-clad] battery has arrived. . . ." Actually she did not arrive till the evening of March 8. *Official Records*, series 1, vol. 9, p. 17, 44.

[14] In an attempt to sink the "Monitor" by ramming her, the "Merrimac," which had lost her iron beak in her encounter with the "Cumberland,"

that day nothing has occurred here, except that one of the big guns exploded while firing upon an enemy vessel. We stood about by the hundreds, I too, you may well know, curious to see what was going to happen, but I came near paying for that curiosity with my life. Imagine! — Three men fell dead at my side, and the brains of one of them were spattered all over me. Many were injured, but not I. After having helped carry away the dead and wounded, I went to my quarters, but — and this I fully assure you — many a hot tear coursed down my tanned face. No, that moment I shall never forget; we never suspected any danger. It certainly is true, as the saying goes: "We little know what lies before us." Several young sailors, whom I learned to know in New York, have succumbed and have closed their eyes for ever; three of them perished off shore here.

During the last three weeks there has been great commotion here, as a new attack is expected every day. Thousands of men have been digging trenches in order to strengthen our position, and most of the time we have had plenty of hardship. During the few moments that have been allowed us for rest, I have been so tired that I have dropped down and slept like a stone. Mails have usually been unsafe and several times entirely cut off, so that no letters could pass either out or in, but the time has passed in the hope that things will straighten out again.

Well, the winter has been quiet, both as far as news and battles have been concerned, because conditions then render maneuvers difficult, but now everything seems to be thawed out and set free from the bondage of winter, and now there is activity at every point of the compass. We have surrounded the enemy by both

sprang a leak. Lieutenant Worden, commander of the "Monitor," was injured by splinters from a shell which struck the pilot house near the aperture through which he was looking to direct his ship. *Official Records*, series 1, vol. 9, p. 1–4; James Ford Rhodes, *History of the Civil War*, 114–116 (New York, 1923). Lieutenant Jones, who commanded the "Merrimac" on March 9, reported: "Our loss is 2 killed and 19 wounded. The stem is twisted, and the ship leaks. We have lost the prow, starboard anchor, and all the boats. The armor is somewhat damaged." *Official Records*, series 1, vol. 9, p. 10.

land and water,[15] but the circle is large as yet, though daily closing in; therefore I hope the stubbornness of the South will soon be broken; but thousands upon thousands will perish before we are finally relieved.

April 5, 1862.

I am still in good shape, but it now begins to look as though we are going to get into the worst of it here. I should not mind it if I could avoid the fighting, for I am reluctant to die, but when I am called upon I shall go, and if everything goes well then all is well, and afterwards I want to return to peaceful occupations again; if I am killed, then I suppose that is the will of Providence.

. . . [*Sic*] You ask me if it is not awful always to be out, as we are, in woods and meadow, night and day, keeping a watch upon the enemy. I do not deny that I have been a little nervous and worried, especially in stormy weather, for at night one depends more upon the ear than upon the eye; but we know that the enemy must endure the same weather, since, after all, they are no more than human beings. Of course, I have been shot at occasionally, but whether the enemy was aiming at me or at some tree-stump, I cannot say, because it is difficult to distinguish an object in the dark.[16] This much is certain, such things as pigs and other animals have very often put me on my guard against the enemy himself. I am not easy to approach when at my post,

[15] This statement is not historically accurate. Richmond and the Confederate army were being threatened from the north (if the presence of a Union force south of Washington, intended primarily for the defense of that city, can be said to have constituted a threat in an active sense), the east, and the southeast.

[16] This is an instance of scrupulous truthfulness on the part of the writer, which is very effective in establishing his veracity as an historical witness. The obvious exaggerations that follow below do not necessarily militate against him in this respect. Tales of atrocity by the enemy are common coin in every army and in every war, and none are too fantastic to find believers, even by the most truthful of men, as those who lived through the World War can testify. When our letter-writer sticks to his own personal experience his words have the ring of truth; when he transmits hearsay the tone is quite different.

for it takes very little to draw my fire. If rifle and bayonet are not sufficient, we carry revolvers in our belts, which are loaded with six charges, all of which can be fired in less than a minute.

Whenever I have been mixed up with the enemy I have feared less for my life than that I might be captured, for — let me tell you — there are Indians in the Southern Army, and if they get hold of us we are forthwith SCALPED, that is: they flay the hide off the head with the hair still on it, and then let the man go. That is the cruellest treatment a man can get. There are also other bloodthirsty hounds in the South, who have taken our soldiers prisoners, bound them to trees, and used them for target practice. It is related that some prisoners a while ago came to a woman plantation owner in the South, and that she asked that they be shot, so that she could be there and have the pleasure of dancing in their blood. What a terrible female! Other dangers also exist, for in many places where we have advanced it has been found that the water has been poisoned so that many have died of it; the same has been true of such food stores as they have had to leave behind and which we have tried to make merry upon. In this way some time ago forty men died in one day, most of them officers.[17] There you have evidence of the humaneness of the slave states. As a matter of fact, they come of a bad stock, the population there being a mixture of Indians, Negroes, Mexicans, and Spaniards. But I will say this, that nothing will avail them; they will all be conquered, and they will themselves suffer the consequences of their actions. It will take time, however, for the area of their country is very great and we have to fight our way forward, foot by foot.

You mentioned that last fall you had a terrible hurricane over there. A month ago we had one such, and it was so severe that it blew wagons end over end on the highways, and even blew

[17] In Newton A. Strait's *Alphabetical List of Battles, 1754–1900*, 154 (Washington, D. C., 1905), the translator finds the following notation: "February 23, 1862 — Forty-two officers and men of the Missouri Cavalry poisoned at Fayetteville, Ark., by a quantity of poisoned meal left behind by the Confederates." It is quite probable that, in order effectively to warn their men against helping themselves to what the enemy left behind, the Union commanders had given wide circulation to this incident.

down houses. Here the wind was so strong that we could not stand erect. We were at drill, but more than half of us were blown down, and we had difficulty getting home, as the sand from the beach filled our eyes. The roofs were blown off several barracks; still, no one was hurt here, though there were casualties elsewhere. We have spring now — yes, I might well say summer — and have begun to use our flannel coats. I think I shall be able to stand more heat now than last year, so that the climate will cause no discomfort. We have been more than fortunate, we of the First Regiment, in being sent to these parts, where the air is so fresh; it is to be hoped that we may continue here, but I do not believe we shall, though I know nothing for certain. It is not unlikely, however, that I shall soon be in Richmond, the capital of Virginia, with more than a hundred thousand inhabitants. Our troops are advancing in that direction now from three points. It would not surprise me if you now were weary of all this political gossip, parts of which you will find quite unintelligible, but do not forget that I sit and write in a veritable Sodom, with noise and commotion within doors, drums and tumult outside, and now and then a cannon shot from the enemy, sometimes at our ships, sometimes at our encampment, to keep us in suspense if nothing else, but seldom causing any damage.

The Camp before Virginia's Capital, Richmond,
Camp Fair Oak [*sic*], June 19, 1862.

As long as conditions are as they are, as long as I cannot do better, I know you will forgive me if I write with pencil. An active soldier cannot expect to have it otherwise, — he is here today, there tomorrow, and very often it is out of the question to try to carry along anything but the clothes on his back; if he has his weapons, then he is well situated. All of May passed quietly at Newport News, about which I wrote before; the enemy was driven back on all sections thereabout by the middle of the month, and the few troops which remained lived in peace, so that we called ourselves "the Home Guard." We passed the time reading newspapers, bathing sometimes twice daily, and eating and drinking. When our regular rations did not taste good enough, we went out and bought something better. Yes, those were

pleasant days. However, one must take the evil along with the good. The city of Norfolk, just across from here, with its forty thousand inhabitants, was to be taken, and we received marching orders. We started off, a few thousand strong, but before we got there word was brought that the city had surrendered without resistance, consequently we were sent back to our old place.[18] Soon after, the twentieth of May arrived. . . . [*Sic*] We had rigged up a theater which was opened that day. I was along, and amused myself immensely. We sang a couple of numbers on the stage and received tremendous applause. . . . [*Sic*] Almost all of May I was indisposed, not exactly on the sick list, but I hardly felt well a single day. I finally began to improve, however, for the constant bathing helped me. We had hoped to see New York again toward the end of May, and daily expected to receive our furloughs; but — that was not the way it turned out. We suddenly received telegraphic orders instantly to join the army at Richmond, since the enemy had concentrated there *en masse* and had forced our army some distance to the rear.[19] To make a long story short — two hours after this news arrived we were steaming away at top speed, and were scheduled to reach our destination the next morning, and so we did. But it was hard on us, as we were forced to march and countermarch for three whole days and nights, through rain and storm, always drenched to the skin, and at night there was nothing to do but to lie down in our tracks, with no more shelter than our oilskin coverings, and with the wet, soft ground beneath.

Yes, it was unpleasant, you may be sure; but a soldier must put up with the lack of many things. Dry bread and water were our rations for some days, nevertheless we were forced to do

[18] General McClellan received news of the evacuation of Norfolk on the morning of the eleventh. The Confederates destroyed the "Merrimac" before they retired, to prevent her falling into Union hands. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, 4:6.

[19] General Joseph E. Johnston, commanding the Confederate forces about Richmond, was confronting the Union Army under McClellan at this point. The Federal forces were not, of course, actually "at Richmond," as might be inferred from the letter; but they were within six miles of the city, and at one point the Federal outposts were within four and one-half miles. *Harper's Encyclopedia of United States History*, vol. 3, "Fair Oaks."

hard labor throwing up breastworks to protect us against the enemy, who attacks us day and night. Well, we finally halted where the battle was fought on the thirty-first of May and the first of June.[20] On the first day we were beaten back, and seventeen cannon had to be left behind to fall into enemy hands. They could not be carried along, as nearly all the horses had been shot. Fifteen thousand of our troops[21] were forced to run away from their camp leaving behind their standing tents and their knapsacks, which, however, gave the enemy little comfort; he was compelled to leave it all again the next morning, because we had received reinforcements during the night, and our soldiers drove the enemy out at the point of the bayonet. All the knapsacks belonging to our soldiers had been cut open, and all that our enemies could use had been taken out, for they are poorly clad and as a rule they have only a pair of trousers and a gray cap. But they fight very well, nevertheless, because they are fed with all sorts of fables and fine promises. Money they do not get, for that sort of thing is a luxury with them . . . [*sic*] except paper money, which they are forced to accept. However, when parts of their territory are taken by our troops, then their money becomes mere waste paper.

This was certainly a terrible battle. Our losses were nearly 5,000 men; the enemy losses, according to their own account, were 8,000 men. They left behind them 1,200 dead on the battlefield the day they were compelled to withdraw, and we about the same number; the rest were wounded.[22]

It will nauseate you when I tell you in what condition I found the field on the fifth day after the battle![23] The place was hardly endurable on account of a pestilential odor; for in this

[20] The main facts concerning the battle of Fair Oaks or Seven Pines have been set down in the introduction, *ante*.

[21] This is certainly an exaggeration. There were probably not over fifteen thousand troops engaged on either side, and only the left wing of the Union forces was compelled to fall back.

[22] Union losses were actually 5,031 men, of whom 790 were killed, 3,594 wounded, the rest captured or missing. The Confederate losses were 6,134 men. Dyer, *Compendium*, 901; Rhodes, *History of the United States*, 4: 28.

[23] Anyone who has taken the trouble to examine a few of the official photographs of Civil War battlefields knows that the following description

heat everything had begun to decompose, and lay there — a mass of horses and a few hundred men still unburied, almost as far as the eye could see. There had not been time the first days after the battle to bury them, because a fresh attack was expected and it had been thought more necessary to erect defenses in the form of breastworks and trenches. But thereafter a large quantity of inflammable materials were spread over the dead horses, and fires begun; there was not time to dig them down. There was many an evil-smelling fire, and lying in amongst them were not a few human beings. I thought it was unforgivable on the part of the commanders that they did not care for the dead. It was a horrifying spectacle, these sodden, bloated bodies, which had already become quite black, with maggots pouring out of their half-eaten faces. Good Heavens! I thought; are those human beings! or — what is man! Some few are usually buried well under the ground after such a battle, but here I could not see but that the dead remained lying above it exactly where they fell, and with only so much earth heaped upon them that they were covered, and generally not even that, for it was no unusual thing to find arms and legs protruding from under the earth. A comrade and I went farther on, out into a swamp where we had to wade through water well up toward our knees, with branches and tree-stumps everywhere, making it very hard to pass through. Even here, however, there had been fighting, for we found two of our enemies who had been wounded, and — who were still alive, but that was all, for they were unable to speak and far gone with starvation and suffering. I, poor devil, would very much have liked to help them, but what could I do? Nothing — nothing! I had to depart with sorrow in my mind and a heavy heart. I had to crawl back again over tree-trunks and other almost impassable obstructions, and leave the dying there alone with Providence. As far as that goes, I believe they had already ceased to suffer, as all consciousness seemed gone, and I think it must have been but a very short time till their souls left their bodies. I had been proceeding thus in deep thought, and, with-

is not even slightly exaggerated, but is probably an exact recital of what the writer actually saw.

out fully realizing it, had left the whole battlefield behind and had rejoined my company. A little while afterwards — bang — hundreds of bangs! What may that be? Well, the enemy is making another effort to break through, and in an instant we are all under arms.[24] Yes, — that is how war furnishes variety; one moment everything is quiet and still, and the next moment the tumult of battle breaks loose, so that one cannot hear a thing on account of rifle- and gun-salvos, running, riding and driving, crashing and falling, as though it were the last moment of the existence of the universe. Eight days had passed in this Sodom with very little calm or sleep, wretched shelter and wretched food (the first fourteen days we had nothing but salt meat, a little rice boiled in water, and dry bread). Such rations did not suffice in this climate and this heat, on top of all this hard work. And how we looked! From the higher officers right down to the private soldiers we were so bespattered with mud and dirt, that no one who did not know what we were would have been able to guess that it was the Union Army that looked like that. The water is usually bad, and people may be seen taking their drinking water out of mudpuddles and gutters.

All goes well enough when one is in good health, and I thought the days were passing quickly; but then I became ill, very ill. I do not suppose I was strong enough to stand all this exertion. The doctor pronounced it calenture [*klimatfeber*], but only a light case. Twelve days have now passed, and I have finally begun to recover; but I am so weak that I tremble in every limb merely at walking a few steps. I am so wasted and thin that you would never recognize me if you should see me; even the little flesh I had has quite disappeared, and my skin seems to cling to my bones. My complexion is a yellowish gray with several dark

[24] This was probably only a minor skirmish. This letter is dated June 19, and on that day the writer had been ill and *hors de combat* for twelve days (see *post*), which must mean that he ceased taking an active share in the fighting on June 7. But the records contain no mention of any considerable fighting on this front between June 1 and June 7. It is barely possible, however, that this was the skirmish at Union Church, which occurred on June 5, and could thus be described as having taken place on "the fifth day after the battle," the day on which the writer crossed the battlefield.

spots. During my illness I have hardly been able to take any nourishment; now, however, a ravenous appetite is growing upon me, but I regret to say that I find very little of the food that would be most appetizing. If I were only near enough to you so that you could fetch me some good food! *e. g.* some milk porridge or other milk food, which, as far as I remember, I have not tasted since I was in Norway. The country hereabout I cannot describe this time. I sit here and look about me — only great plains and forests catch the eye. Turning my glance to the sky, I see that it is light blue, with here and there some light colored moving clouds. A fresh southerly breeze invigorates the air and refreshes my surroundings; at the present moment I breathe an air so fresh and cool, but in an hour it may be almost burning hot again.

THE SINKING OF THE "ATLANTIC" ON LAKE ERIE AN IMMIGRANT JOURNEY FROM QUEBEC TO WISCONSIN IN 1852[1]

A Letter Translated and Edited by Henrietta Larson

INTRODUCTION

In the early eighteen-fifties travel by steamboat on the rivers or Great Lakes in America, the main highways of the country at the time, was very hazardous. This may be seen from the frequent notices in the newspapers of "another steamboat accident." Many of these accidents were minor ones, but a large number were so serious as to be called "disasters." Of the latter type several were reported within about a month in the summer of 1852: on July 28 the "Henry Clay" became overheated while racing on the Hudson, and burned, with the loss of at least fifty-eight persons; on August 20 the "Atlantic," a Lake Erie steamer, was rammed by another boat and sank, over three hundred lives being lost; on August 23 the "Franklin, No. 2," an Ohio River boat, had a boiler explosion, fifteen being killed and forty severely injured; and on September 4 the "Reindeer" was destroyed on the Hudson as a result of an explosion which killed twenty-eight and injured many.[2]

These disasters aroused much criticism of steamboats. The causes of steamboat accidents and the means of preventing them were widely discussed in the press. It was admitted that some accidents could not be prevented, but carelessness and the mania for speed were blamed for many disasters. Regular

[1] The writer is indebted to Dr. Theodore C. Blegen of the University of Minnesota for sending from Oslo the letter herewith translated and other information from the Scandinavian sources cited.

[2] Reports of these disasters were found in several Philadelphia and New York papers, April to September, inclusive, 1852.

advertisements of "fast boats" and "fast trips" and frequent reports of the breaking of records indicate that time was already an important consideration in American travel. These attempts of the boats to establish records for speed may in part be explained by the unregulated cut-throat competition, between transportation agencies, to secure trade. To accomplish this end, rates were often ruinously cut; or still other means, more questionable from the point of view of the passengers, were employed. In the summer of 1852 a strong demand arose for effective government interference. On August 30 Congress passed a bill providing for the licensing and inspection of steamboats, with specific regulations as to the pressure in the boilers, and other preventive measures, as well as the carrying of life boats, life preservers, and other aids in case of trouble.[3]

The most outstanding of the steamboat accidents of 1852, and one of the most serious that have occurred in the United States, was the sinking of the "Atlantic." This boat was a large steamer, owned by the Wards, running out from Buffalo on Lake Erie. It was struck by the "Ogdensburg" about two o'clock in the morning of August 20. The reason for this strange collision is more or less a mystery. The hearings held by a committee of inquiry revealed that the steering apparatus of the two boats was in order and that the first mate, who was at the wheel of the "Ogdensburg," saw the lights of the "Atlantic." Two theories remain: first, that there was careless miscalculation on the part of one or both of the pilots, possibly induced by a desire to "make time"; and, secondly, that one of the pilots deliberately tried to injure a rival boat.[4]

[3] *United States Statutes at Large*, 10:61–75 (1851–1855). Laws had been passed earlier on this matter but none so specific and comprehensive as this one.

[4] The sinking of the "Atlantic" was reported fully in the following papers: the *Buffalo Republic*; the New York *Courier and Inquirer*; and the Philadelphia *North American and United States Gazette, Sunday Dispatch*, and *Cummings' Evening Bulletin*. *John Bull*, a London weekly,

The "Atlantic" was carrying over five hundred passengers, mostly German and Norwegian immigrants.[5] The presence of so many immigrants on the boat is explained by the fact that the Lake route was the favorite route westward for the large immigration of the fifties. Immediately after the collision an awful confusion arose on the boat. The crowded condition of the craft, the fact that the immigrants could not understand the orders given, the use of life preservers with which the passengers were unfamiliar, the injury of the captain, all served to demoralize both passengers and crew. The boat was immediately headed towards land, but shortly the water extinguished the fires in the furnaces, and the boat sank in about fifteen fathoms of water. The "Ogdensburg," after inspecting its damages, followed in the wake of the "Atlantic" and picked up the survivors. Over three hundred were drowned. Of these, sixty-eight were from Norway: three from Vang, thirty-six from Slidre, twenty-three from Urdal in Valders, and five from Toten.[6]

An account of this disaster is contained in a letter written by an emigrant passenger — Erik Thorstad of Øiers Parish in Gudbrandsdalen.[7] He had sailed with the Norwegian emigrant

carried a five-hundred-word account of the disaster, September 4. A highly colored account may be found in Hjalmar R. Holand, *De Norske Settlementers Historie*, 72–73 (Ephraim, Wisconsin, 1908).

[5] *Cummings' Evening Bulletin*, for August 24, 1852, states that there were 510 passengers, of whom 400 were immigrants. That is approximately the number given by the newspapers referred to in the preceding note.

[6] Stephen Olson of Manitowoc, Wisconsin, who accompanied the emigrants from Norway as interpreter, reported the names of those drowned and the places from which they came. His report was published in *Skandinaven*, October 27, 1852 (this copy was found in the Kunglige Bibliotek in Stockholm). Though Olson's report states that sixty-eight were drowned, only sixty-seven names are given. A letter published in *Christiania-Posten*, October 16, 1852, contains some information about the emigrants.

[7] This letter, written from the "Town of Ixonia, Jefferson County [Wisconsin], November 9, 1852," was published, together with some information on the "Atlantic" disaster, in *Christiania-Posten*, February 11, 1853.

party from Christiania on June 16 and landed at Quebec on August 12. From there on Thorstad describes the eventful journey inland. This letter, a part of which is herewith given in translation, is interesting and significant as a passenger's observations on a dramatic and controversial episode in the history of American immigration and transportation in the eighteen-fifties.

TEXT

Our good leader, Captain Olsen, contracted with a company to carry us and our baggage to Milwaukee for seven dollars for each adult and half fare for the children. On August 14 our baggage was brought aboard a large steamboat and we left the evening of the same day at five o'clock. At six the following morning we came to a town called Montreal. Our skipper, who had accompanied us to this place, then took leave of us. Shortly after he had gone, an accident occurred; a man from Valders fell overboard as he was bringing his baggage off the boat. It was right pitiful to see how he struggled. And no means were on hand whatsoever with which to save him. Arrangements were finally made for dragging, whereupon he was found, but by then he was dead. This event was all the more tragic since he had a family, which mourned its lost provider.[8]

At this place our baggage was taken in wagons about one English mile, and then we traveled by steamboat for about twenty-four hours. We passed through many locks which we looked at with wonder. Since we could not get a boat the day we reached this place, a town named Toronto, our baggage was unloaded on the wharf, and the immigrants, except myself and a couple of others, spent the night under the open sky. At eight the next morning we left by steamboat, and in the afternoon of the same day we landed below Niagara Falls near the ingenious hanging bridge made of steel cables. Many of us had decided to go near this masterpiece and inspect it, but we had to forego this, as our baggage was immediately loaded on wagons and drawn

[8] According to Stephen Olson's report the family of this man was drowned in the "Atlantic" disaster (see note 6).

by horses on a railway for about sixteen English miles. On this trip we had an opportunity to view the great and much-famed waterfalls, Niagara.

We came to the town of Kingston late in the evening. There, too, our belongings were placed on the wharf, and the same ones as before found lodging on the wharf, while I and two of my comrades lodged in town. Some of the immigrants left for Buffalo on a small steamboat at five o'clock the next morning. At five in the evening the boat returned and got the rest of us. Buffalo is a very large town and has about 50,000 inhabitants, but I did not think it was really a pleasant place. Along the wharves, especially, it was quite unwholesome. From Quebec to Buffalo some seventy-five poor people from Valders had free transportation. But here they had to remain as they did not have enough money to pay passage across the Lakes.[9]

We left Buffalo on a large steamer, called the "Atlantic," in the evening of the same day — August 12 — at eight o'clock.[10] The total number of passengers was 576, comprising 132 Norwegians, a number of Germans, and the rest Americans.

Since it was already late in the evening and I felt very sleepy, I opened my chest, took off my coat and laid it, together with my money and my watch, in the chest. I took out my bed clothes, made me a bed on the chest, and lay down to sleep. But when it was about half past two in the morning I awoke with a heavy shock. Immediately suspecting that another boat had run into ours, I hastened up at once. Since there was great confusion and fright among the passengers, I asked several if our boat had been damaged. But I did not get any reassuring answer. I could not believe that there was any immediate danger, for the engines were still in motion. I went up to the top deck, and then I was convinced at once that the steamer must have been damaged, for many people were lowering a boat with the greatest haste.

[9] A list of the names of those passengers who did not go on from Buffalo is contained in a letter written by George Pemberton, acting Norwegian-Swedish consul at Quebec. This letter is in the *Riksarkiv*, Oslo, Indredept., Kontor D., Journalsager, 1852, No. 2336.

[10] This date is obviously wrong and should have been August 19.

Many from the lowest deck got into the boat directly, and as the boat had taken in water on being lowered, it sank immediately and all were drowned.

Thereupon I went down to the second deck, hoping to find means of rescue. At that very moment the water rushed into the boat and the engines stopped. Then a pitiful cry arose. I and one of my comrades had taken hold of the stairs which led from the second to the third deck, but soon there were so many hands on it that we let go, knowing that we could not thus be saved. We thereupon climbed up to the third deck, where the pilot was at the wheel. I had altogether given up hope of being saved, for the boat began to sink more and more, and the water almost reached up there. While we stood thus, much distressed, we saw several people putting out a small boat, whereupon we at once hastened to help. We succeeded in getting it well out, and I was one of the first to get into the boat. When there were as many as the boat could hold, it was fortunately pushed away from the steamer. As oars were wanting, we rowed with our hands, and several bailed water from the boat with their hats. A ray of light, which we had seen far away when we were on the wreck and which we had taken for a lighthouse, we soon found to be a steamer hurrying to give us help. We were taken aboard directly, and then those who were on the wreck as well as those who were still paddling in the water were picked up.

This boat, which was the one that had sunk ours, was of the kind known as a propeller, driven by a screw in the stern. The misery and the cries of distress which I witnessed and heard that night are indescribable, and I shall not forget it all as long as I live. The number of drowned was more than three hundred, of whom sixty-eight were Norwegians. Many of the persons who were in the first class were drowned in their berths or state-rooms. The Norwegians who were rescued totaled sixty-four, but most of them lost everything. I saw many on board the propeller who had on only shirts. The newspapers blame the command of the "Atlantic" for this sad event and reproach them most severely and accuse them openly of having murdered three hundred people.

The propeller soon delivered us to another steamboat which brought us to a city called Detroit, where we arrived at eight the next morning. After we had got some provisions for our journey, we continued on a steam train. Late in the evening we reached a large town in Illinois, called Chicago, where we spent the night and had everything free. On the trip there, we saw many beautiful farms and orchards as well as many attractive buildings. We left the following morning by steamboat, and after five or six hours we reached Milwaukee. That was on the twenty-second of August. We stayed with a Norwegian where we remained until the twenty-eighth of the same month. Since the city had taken up a subscription for our support, we lived free of charge, and in addition each person received eleven dollars in money.[11] With this money I bought two coats, a pair of trousers, a pair of shoes, two shirts, and a bag.

From Milwaukee I went by steam train twenty to twenty-five miles without charge, and then I footed it, reaching Østerlie's the thirtieth of August. There I have since remained. I am well and have, God be thanked, been in good health all the time. Although I have lost all my possessions, I have not lost courage. The same God who has helped me in the time of danger will, I hope, continue to be my protector.

[11] A letter, published in *Christiania-Posten*, October 16, 1852, stated that about eight hundred dollars were collected in Milwaukee for the forty-six immigrants.

AN ACCOUNT OF A JOURNEY TO CALIFORNIA IN 1852[1]

By Tosten Kittelsen Stabæk

Translated by Einar I. Haugen

INTRODUCTION

Mr. S. G. Mogan, of Seattle, Washington, through whose efforts the above account was obtained, has furnished the following facts about its author and about Knud Knudsen, leader of the expedition. Tosten Kittelsen, as he was always known, was born in Rollag, Numedal, on April 26, 1830. He emigrated in 1850 to the Rock Run settlement in Winnebago County, Illinois, where his uncle, Clemet Stabæk, and other relatives were located. After his return from California in 1858 he bought a farm in the same settlement, near Durand. A widowed sister was for many years his housekeeper, but when she married a second time, and moved with her husband to Nebraska, her brother was again compelled to live alone. Later he sold his farm and took a trip to Norway. After his return he lived with a relative. He decided to take up bee-keeping, and bought ten acres, on which he established an apiary and produced honey on a large scale. On October 3, 1895, he married Guri Springen, who unfortunately died within a year. When he was no longer able to care for his business, he went to live with his cousin, Nels Paterson of Durand, Illinois. There he remained until 1913, when he died, at the age of eighty-three years.

The following account was committed to writing some forty years after the journey, and many minor details have probably been forgotten. But the leading incidents stand out clearly, and have no doubt been kept fresh by frequent retelling.

[1] The Norwegian original of this paper was published in *Aarbok nr. 14 for Numedalslaget*, 62–85 (1928).

Knud Knudsen, leader of the expedition, was a man of some ability — quiet, unobtrusive, phlegmatic, and yet with the spirit of adventure in him. As Stabæk's account shows, it was to his skill and experience that the journey owed its successful conclusion. He was a blacksmith by trade, and probably little versed in books; yet he had a certain talent for writing interestingly about his experiences, and published an account of his voyage on the boat "Emilie" from Drammen to New York in 1839. This book was republished and edited by Dr. O. M. Norlie (Minneapolis, 1926). The further course of Knudsen's life is unknown.

TEXT

Since it may be that I am now the only one alive of a party which traveled to California in 1852, I shall give as accurate an account of the journey as my memory permits.

In the month of February a group of us began to talk about traveling by wagon overland to California. Knud Knudsen from Wiota, Wisconsin, who had made the same journey in 1849, was now about to start a second time, and we could therefore get good company. There were three of us who had a mind to go along, but we lacked means and could not go unless we got help toward our traveling expenses. My uncle, Clemet T. Stabæk, came to our assistance and not only furnished us with oxen, wagons, and provisions, but also supplied us with cash for use on the trip. Altogether our party came to consist of eight men from Winnebago and Stephenson Counties in Illinois. The most important part of our equipment was composed of three wagons, eleven yoke of oxen, and six cows. These last were brought along for the sake of their milk, which was of great importance on the long journey through uninhabited regions. The wagons were in those days constructed at home; hence they could be built light, their carrying capacity being calculated at only two thousand pounds.

We were ready to leave about the middle of April, but had to wait for word from K. Knudsen as to just where we should meet him. Our company from Rock Run consisted of the fol-

lowing persons: Narve T. Stabæk, Kristoffer Rostad, Torsten Knutson, Nels Nelson, and Torsten K. O. Stabæk, who were all from Rollag in Numedal, Gunder A. Halvorsen from Kragerø, Svale Nelson from Bjerkreim parish near Stavanger, and Gunder Halvorsen from Telemarken. A party from Rock Prairie, from the district around the present Orfordville, Wisconsin, which planned to join Knudsen and us at Galena, Illinois, consisted of the following persons: Halvor Hersgard, Aadne Engen, Ole Trulsen (Wee), and Christen Evenson, all from Hallingdal, Halvor Kjørn and Halvor Gallog from Numedal, Ole Hanson from Modum, and Fredrik Giving, a Frenchman. Several of these were family men and quite advanced in years. Their equipment consisted of two wagons and four yoke of oxen and two cows for each wagon.

As we had got word from K. Knudsen that we should meet in Galena the first of May, we gathered at Clemet Stabæk's place on the twenty-seventh of April. That afternoon we began our journey, but got only some five miles out on the prairie before we had to halt for the night. The next day we found progress somewhat difficult, because of the bad roads at this time of the year. The cows, which trailed along without being tied, were constantly dissatisfied with traveling and wished to turn back; but after a time they gradually grew accustomed to it. The feed was pretty poor, for it was difficult to secure hay. Clemet Stabæk accompanied us on the way to drive a load of oats which we brought along as feed. When we had passed the town of Winslow, we stopped for the night. Along in the afternoon of the next day, April 29, we found the country more hilly and the roads worse as we approached the heights above the valley of the Mississippi. We passed a little mining town named Council Hill; on the road down from this place there were steep hills and forests and a very rocky country. We stopped for the night by Fever River; three of us, who did not yet have citizen papers, went next morning to Galena, the county seat, and got them.

On May 1, K. Knudsen and his sons Hendrik, Christen, and Søren arrived from Wiota, Wisconsin. They had two wagons, eight yoke of oxen, and four cows. The company from Rock Prairie also made its appearance about the same time. We were

now twenty men, nineteen Norwegians and one Frenchman, and had seven wagons. To lighten the load for the draught animals and to hasten our progress, part of the provisions were sent by boat down the Mississippi to St. Louis and up the Missouri to Council Bluffs; in that way we could ease our journey through Iowa, where the roads were poor. Two men were sent with the provisions, C. Rostad and G. A. Halvorsen.

We left Galena with light loads, drove the three miles down to the Mississippi, and arrived at the river bank at dusk; here we had to encamp for the night. In the morning we saw the ferry a short distance away; but, as there were many ahead of us, we had to wait some time for our turn. Clemet Stabæk, who had been with us up to this time, now turned homeward. Late in the afternoon our turn came to be ferried over, but a wide stretch of low-lying ground still separated us from the river bank. There was a pretty strong current and it was necessary to go up the river a good distance before we could begin to cross; this took so much time that evening had come before we landed on the Iowa side; and we had to pass the night on the river bank.

As soon as it grew light the next morning, we continued the journey. After a few miles we found a place where we bought a supply of hay for our cattle. It rained a little that afternoon, but we kept on traveling until we reached a little town named Caskell. There we bought oats for the animals, which would have to last until we could find more grass. In a short time there would be plenty; for in the warmth of spring all was in rapid growth, and out here on the prairie the opportunity for pasture was very much better. Altogether we now had sixty-eight head of cattle, and it was evident that what feed we could carry along would not long suffice. In many places through this region the prairie was strewn with large rocks which seemed to lie on the surface. Fortunately our loads were light; for the land was marshy and the roads almost impassable. Other travelers, with heavier loads, often were mired and needed help to get loose again. In the town of Marion [Iowa] we supplied ourselves with extra shoes at Knudsen's advice; for, he said, there would be plenty of walking to do before we reached our destination.

As we approached the Cedar River, the road passed through a

well-wooded district. At the ferry near Cedar Rapids we found that the current was swift and the crossing quite laborious. Here, too, we had to pay toll, at the rate of a dollar for a pair of oxen and a wagon, and ten cents for each person and unyoked animal. The crossing was successful, and we passed the night not far from the ferry.

The following days we traveled through a country of hills and forests, but my memory fails me, so that I am not able to give dates, or the names of the little towns we passed and the rivers we crossed. But I remember the ferry over the Iowa River; for here we had to pay toll again. T. Knudsen fell sick here, so we stopped a while and waited for medicines, which had been sent for. Later in the day we broke camp and traveled a few miles to a place where the cattle could get water, and camped for the night.

In a few days we reached a town by the name of Sommerseth, out on the prairie. Then we followed the valley of the Des Moines River as far as the city of Des Moines, where we had another long wait before we could be ferried over the river, and again had to pay toll. That night we camped not far from the city. The following days we first passed through a hilly, wooded district, then came out on the prairie and passed over certain lowlands. As we approached the Missouri Valley, we once more met with hills. Where the land started to slope down toward the river, we drove into a little valley, which we followed down to the plain. Here were a great many little houses, erected by the Mormons, who had come from Illinois the preceding autumn and were on their way to Salt Lake. By the time we had driven the five miles over the plain and reached the river bank, it was noon. There was no fixed landing place for the river boats because the river had washed down the banks. Here we found C. Rostad and G. A. Halvorsen, who had traveled with the provisions; they had waited for us some two weeks.

Next morning we got our provisions loaded on the wagons, and when we were ready to proceed on our journey, all the wagons were heavily loaded; but the roads were dry and fairly smooth. Along in the forenoon we arrived at Canesville, which, though only a small town, did much business, especially at this

time of the year; for it was the last place where purchases could be made. Here too was a cluster of little houses in which the Mormons had wintered and were now awaiting the time when the stream of travelers to California and Oregon should begin to diminish. This might not take place before late in the summer, but it was important for them to travel at a time of the year which would offer the best prospects of pasture for the many cattle they brought with them.

After we had bought all that we thought necessary for the journey, we left Canesville and drove over the hills twelve miles to the upper ferry by Council Bluffs. On account of the grass we stopped for the night a mile from the river. The next morning, while we awaited our turn to be ferried over the river, we drove the cattle a short distance away from the main road, where they got a chance to eat their fill of the still somewhat scanty grass.

Along in the afternoon we gathered together all our property and made the necessary preparations to go aboard the ferry. But we still had some time to wait, and this gave us a chance to look over the town — an easy matter, as it consisted only of a couple of huts, a saloon, and a gambling house. There were several who tried their luck at the gaming table, and with the usual result: most of them went away losers; some even lost all the money they had. We crossed the river without mishap. The current was rather swift, and the ferry had to go up the river a considerable distance to make sure of landing at the right place on the opposite bank. The Missouri was very wide at this time of the year, and the water was muddied by all the dirt washed down from the banks. All traces of civilization were now disappearing; no house was in sight, for we were among the Indians. We advanced only a mile from the ferry before we had to stop for the night.

We were now about to enter the wilderness, where nothing living could be found but wild animals and Indians; and, to secure ourselves against surprise, two men were chosen to keep watch alternately during the night. It was also decided to choose a leader, and for this Knud Knudsen, who had made the same journey to California in 1849, was elected. On the earlier trip

he had been in company with Peder Paulsen from Winnebago County, Illinois; they had had much bad luck on the road, which we hoped to avoid with the help of our leader's experience.

The next morning we journeyed westward through Nebraska, and according to our guide book, Horn's description, we still had 2,022 miles to Sacramento, California. As most of this distance had to be covered on foot, our shoe-leather would certainly have to suffer. Soon we were up the hills, and now the prairie began. By noon we reached Elkhorn River. Here, too, were a ferry and tolls; but we crossed without much delay, and then stopped a while to give the oxen time to eat and rest. We were now among some Indians, who followed us nearly all afternoon, and we had to be on our guard all the time lest they should find a chance to rob us. The land that we were now traversing was very flat and appeared to be fertile. The Indians left us, but the watch was charged to be especially vigilant, as we feared they might return after dark. Nothing happened during the night, and the next morning we set forth again. The road passed not very far from the Platte River. We had fine weather, and there had been little rain, so that the country was very dry.

By Shell Creek there was posted a placard on which was written that a short time before the Pawnee Indians had closed the road and tried to surround and rob an ox train, but as aid was rendered by other travelers who came right after, the Indians were driven away after a brief skirmish. The placard was put up to warn others to be on their guard.

It was now near the end of May. Where we camped for the night there was fine flat land and forest. During the forenoon of the next day we came to a place where there was an old abandoned Indian mission. We could see something of the fences and other traces which showed that the soil in the near neighborhood had been tilled. There were no houses, but there were many rooms beneath the surface of the earth which probably had been contrived for protection against possible attacks. Here was also an abundance of forest. We continued the journey and came to the Loup River at a convenient time in the evening. Since the skies threatened rain and high winds, the wagons were anchored to the ground for safety's sake. The next morning a heavy shower

did fall, with the consequence that the river rose, so that we had to raise and block up the wagon boxes to secure ourselves against getting our things wet when we crossed the stream. In many of these rivers the bottom consisted of drift sand, frequently they were also deep and swift. In crossing, the important thing was not to stop before firm ground had been reached, for otherwise one risked being carried away by the current or sucked down into the sands. We crossed without mishap, however. Before we again came out upon the open prairie, we passed through some forest land. To judge by the growth of grass, the soil in this region was quite fertile. We stopped by the Wood River for the night. We were now getting outside the territory of the Pawnee Indians, and it was growing more difficult to find good water. The next morning, indeed, we had to drive our cattle some distance from the main road before they could find enough grass to fill their empty stomachs. The trees had now disappeared, the landscape opened up, and the range of vision grew wider. We could now see travelers a great distance off, both before and behind us. There were many travelers, a great number of them on the way to Oregon with their families.

On June 2 we found the country somewhat hilly. In the course of that day we met occasional wagons traveling in the opposite direction. When we reached our camp site that evening, we learned the distressing news that four persons had died from cholera. All had been well in the evening, but before daybreak four were dead. We met one wagon in which was a mother with two small children. Her husband was one of the four who had died, and now she was on the way back to her relatives in Missouri, broken and grief-stricken. Our leader, K. Knudsen, however, advised her to return and join her company, and pointed out to her what difficulties and distress she might encounter if she should fall sick, alone on the road with her helpless little ones. Finally we came to the place where the woman's company had their camp, a short distance from the road. They had not yet departed, presumably because they had been delayed by sickness and burial.

At Prairie Creek there was another funeral. It was of a woman

who had died in the morning. She was an old man's wife, and now he was left alone. The company, which consisted of families on their way to Oregon, did not stop, but continued their journey. Few or none of the gold seekers on the way to California had their families with them. Most of these were out to make money, and they intended, when they had collected a substantial sum, to return to the home they had left. We heard later that the cholera had been most fatal on the second and third of June. On the fourth and fifth there were fewer cases, and on the sixth practically none. It was as if the infection came flying through the air. A warm wind blew in the night, and simultaneously over a distance of about two hundred miles people fell sick and many died.

The road now followed the Platte River, which is broad and has very low banks. Here were occasional cottonwood trees, but we were told that it would be two hundred miles before we again should come to any woods. The drinking water that we found along the road was poor and tasted of minerals. The river water, I believe, was good; for it came from the mountains; but it was so mixed with dirt that it was almost undrinkable. Beyond the broad plain which lay near the river there were hills, and we had some sandy heights to cross. In a strong wind the sand would fly about one's ears, and one would be exposed to something that resembled a snow storm. We met with such a storm one day, but we were lucky enough to get on the plain again before nightfall.

There were many ways of traveling. Two men from Rockford, Illinois, traveled with a hand cart calculated to carry two hundred pounds. One of the men pulled it, and the other pushed from behind; as a rule they made as long a day's journey as the rest.

Now and then we met Sioux Indians, but they were peaceful, and as a rule they hurried past us without a greeting. The roads were dusty; for we had had no rain since we left the Loup region. The weather was warm and clear; for long distances wood was nowhere to be found, and it was only with the aid of "buffalo chips" and a little kindling that we were able to cook our food. This was the Nebraska plateau, where only a single tree could

be found in a distance of some two hundred miles. As the soil these days had been very sandy, some of the oxen became so hoof-sore that we had to make shoes for them.

We saw Chimney Rock before us on the south side of the river. One evening we came to a small pool of water from which the cattle drank. A little to one side was a depression, where we dug a hole, which quickly filled and overflowed with the most delicious spring-water. We had obviously hit upon the vein which was the source of the previously mentioned pool. In many places it was difficult to find good water, and this discovery was of importance not only to us, but also to other travelers who journeyed on the same roads. We erected a sign by the roadside so that others might find the good water. After all had been supplied with the necessary water, we drove out on the prairie about a mile, where there was good pasture for the cattle, and here we camped over Sunday.

We had been in good health all the time, but many were ill in other companies, so that the doctors were busy from morn till night. It was commonly held that the poor water was the cause of the sickness. We had plenty of milk and used little water except for cooking. It is also possible that our diet helped to keep us well. We ate much porridge and milk, and but little meat — the last as a rule once a day.

On Monday morning we resumed our journey, but in the afternoon Aadne Engen fell sick, and we had to stop. A doctor, who was in the neighborhood, was called, and he declared that it was cholera. He left some medicine, but in the night the patient grew worse, and he died the next afternoon. A grave was dug near the roadside, and he was buried without coffin and without ceremonies. He was far from home, and it took a long time before his family on Rock Prairie learned of the death of their breadwinner. For several days before this death occurred we had seen no new graves. After the funeral we left the road a short distance to find better pasture for the cattle.

The next day our road lay in a more hilly country, with less vegetation, so that we had to seek grass for the cattle farther from the road. We now approached the heights, and the road was full of pebbles, so that our day's journeys grew shorter.

Fort Laramie, where a number of soldiers were stationed, lay on the south side of the Platte River. Here was the boundary between the territories of the Sioux and the Crow Indians. The former had now been peaceful for some time. The previously mentioned men from Rockford, Illinois, who drew their equipment on a hand cart, had now made an agreement with some others to convey their goods the rest of the way and left their hand cart standing by the roadside. The territory hereabouts was extremely hilly until we again approached the Platte River, along which the road was smooth and easy. Knudsen, our leader, now went on ahead every afternoon with a man, to pick out a camp site for the night. I was often the one chosen to accompany him. We were now far behind, as the body of emigrants was ahead of us. Once more we were traversing hills and the river was lost to us. Pasture was growing more and more difficult to find, so that at night the herdsmen drove the cattle away and did not return with them before morning. On our ascent we crossed several little brooks, where we sometimes found both grass and good water. But the road led us down to the Platte again, and in its vicinity there was little or no grass.

We now came to Horseshoe Bend, where in 1850 some travelers were attacked by the Crow Indians, but resisted so stoutly that the Indians were put to flight. Here were a few trees, where we encamped for the night. The next day we traversed a coal bed several miles in width; in many places the coal was visible on the surface. It was said to be of good quality. [When the Union Pacific was built, the coal beds became the property of the railroad and were of great value.]

Once more we approached the Platte River, but according to our guide book it was the last time we should meet with it. Here we happened upon a man by the name of Cooper, who came from Missouri, and brought along twenty wagons and eight hundred head of cattle, with a large crew of men whose traveling expenses he paid in return for the assistance they gave him. It was necessary to cross the river, and they tried to get the cattle to swim across; but when they reached the deep and swiftly flowing part of the river, the cattle turned around, and the men had a difficult job of it.

We hurried on, in order to get ahead of them; for where such a large herd of cattle had passed, there would be but little feed left for those who came just after them. We saw Crow Indians, but they did us no harm. As we continued to ascend, we caught sight of distant mountain tops. Occasionally we had to pass the night in places where nothing grew but sagebrush, and when on the following day we found a place where there was grass, we had to stop long enough to let the cattle graze their fill.

One day three of us set out to look for game, but all we saw was a pack of gray wolves. We turned back; for we knew that where these greedy animals were abroad, there was no other game. In the afternoon we returned to the main road and looked for the footprints of a man in our company who wore unusually large shoes, in order to ascertain whether our caravan had passed. We found the track of a man who had left large footprints and followed it. This led us upwards, where the air was cooler. At length we came to a little brook, but we saw nothing of our company. Near by was a strange wagon to which the footprints led. We now realized that our company had stopped for the night some distance behind. The travelers, however, were so kind as to give us something to eat and also lent us a blanket to cover ourselves with in the night. But it was so cold that we had to keep the fire alive all night in order not to freeze. It was the coldest night we experienced on the whole journey. In the morning we could see traces of snow, which had fallen in the highlands a couple of weeks earlier.

The question now was to find our company. A blacksmith, who had his smithy near the road, reported that he had not seen them pass by. This man, who had settled out there in the desert, earned good money at his trade; just for shoeing an ox he got $8.00, and for a dozen nails $5.00. As we feared that our companions might worry about us on account of our long absence and possibly take steps to search for us, we decided that I should go to meet them. I found them about ten miles back. In the evening we camped at the place where the three of us had spent the preceding night.

The next day, which was Sunday, we found a good pasture for the cattle and left them in peace until Monday morning. The

blacksmith bought the ones that had become hoof-sore or lame so that they were unable to continue the journey, and he paid from $5.00 to $10.00 a head for them. He was able to secure pasturage from the Indians, and when the cattle had sufficiently recovered, they were transported to California and sold.

The road now sloped downwards, until we came to Lake Saleratus, the surface of which is hard and bright like ice. I broke loose a piece about three inches thick. It was about the same kind of saleratus [soda] as that used by housewives. Further on was the Sweetwater River, a branch of the Platte issuing from the heights which form the divide between it and the Colorado River.

We passed the night by Independence Rock, a crag which towered a hundred feet above the surrounding sagebrush plain. A few crippled cedars and pine trees grew in the clefts on the river side. The grass was quite luxuriant near the river; but there was alkali in the stagnant water and frequently a frost-like covering of it on the grass. This alkali was very dangerous for the cattle, and a number of carcasses strewn along the road testified to the importance of keeping them away from these places. A little later we camped near the river at a place where there was alkali on the grass in the morning; but by driving the cattle about a mile off, we found good pasture.

On Sunday, the next day, we found that some of the oxen were sick. Monday afternoon we proceeded, however, but soon had to stop for the night; before morning two of the oxen were dead. The Sweetwater River was now becoming a mere brook. We were approaching South Pass, and had left the alkali district behind us for another with plenty of grass and good water. We were now up on the plateau but spent one more night by a watering place on the Sweetwater River.

Only three miles from where we had spent the night, we reached Pacific Spring, which is considered the source of the Colorado River. We had passed the Great Divide between the Atlantic and the Pacific almost without knowing it. In the evening we reached Little Sandy, a small river with crystal clear water which flows down from the mountains, but a scarcity of grass forced us to go a considerable distance from the road. The mountains, many of them quite high, lay around about us, and

in the distance Fremont Peak towered high above all the others. On its north side some snow was visible.

Next day we crossed the river and journeyed through a hilly sagebrush country. We made camp by the Big Sandy River, where we remained over Sunday. Farther up the river we found pasture for the cattle. A group of Shoshone Indians and some Frenchmen had camped not far from the road. They had a great many horses, and before we left the place on Monday morning, we had acquired a horse in trade for two oxen and a cow which had become hoof-sore or had been sickened by drinking alkali water.

On the Green River there were two ferries not far apart. We chose the upper one, but it was too late to cross on the same evening. Next morning there were so many ahead of us that we had to wait nearly all day; in the meanwhile we found better pasture for the cattle. When our turn came, we took the wagons with the oxen hitched up on the ferry and made the unyoked animals swim over. The current was strong and the bottom stony, but the water was clear and transparent. The crossing was successful, and we camped on the other side. The hilly character of the country was daily more in evidence, and our rate of progress was accordingly diminished. K. Knudsen frequently took me along on his tours to find camping grounds for the next night. On these occasions he often told about his experiences on his first journey to California. He was somewhat advanced in years, but still a brisk walker, so that any one might have difficulty in keeping up with him.

We were all in good health, but certain of the older men were growing impatient and downcast because it took so long a time to reach our destination. They had left their families behind them, and anxious thoughts of their homes and loved ones caused time to move at a snail's pace for them. It was otherwise with us who were young; while we were well, we had little to worry us, and time seldom hung heavy on our hands. K. Knudsen, who possessed much dearly bought experience from his former trip, was cautious and insisted rigidly on our not accelerating our march, lest the animals should be overtaxed and grow hoof-sore, or in some other way be made incapable of fulfilling their duties.

We reached Hams Falls late in the evening, and next morning again had to go some distance to find good pasture. We crossed the river on a toll bridge, under which the clear water flowed swiftly. The road was heavy, up hill and down hill, and full of rocks. In a few days we came to where the road branched off to Salt Lake City. We took to the left [right?] over the heights to the Bear River valley. By the river was an abundance of grass, and we stopped there from Saturday evening until Monday in order to give our underfed and wearied animals much-needed relief. The following days we traveled along the river, where the road was fairly smooth; but soon the stream turned south towards the Great Salt Lake, while our road took us in a south-westerly direction. One evening we reached Soda Spring, which is surrounded by a number of mineral springs, the water from which, though somewhat bitter, is said to be very healthful. Here was another blacksmith, who made it his business to shoe hoof-sore animals; as we had some lame oxen, Knudsen made a trip to him and bought nails so we could shoe them. A man from Salt Lake City had flour for sale, and since our supply was dwindling, we bought fifty pounds from him.

Next day we reached the place where the Oregon trail branched off. We were then in a part of Oregon Territory (now Idaho) and the Oregon trail turned northwest in the direction of Snake River. We were surrounded by mountains, apparently of volcanic origin. In this hilly territory there were many little brooks, all full of trout. We fished with hook and line, using grasshoppers as bait, and made a good catch. In a few days we reached lower land, which sloped down toward Snake River. Two of us stayed behind to fish. We caught plenty of fish, but had to cover a distance of twelve miles without anything to eat, before we caught up with our caravan. On the road we met a lone man with two horses, who accompanied us until we reached Raft River that evening. Fort Holt lay twenty miles to the west of us.

The next evening we camped by another branch of the Raft River, where there was an abundance of grass and fresh pure water from the mountains. Here we stayed over Sunday. Between the mountains we found a pasture for the cattle, where there grew clover and some other varieties of grass which one

usually expects to find only on cultivated ground. Here we could catch all the fish we wanted. It was without comparison the best place we had found on the whole journey. It is not surprising that the Mormons, as we later heard, took possession of it the following year.

Monday morning we passed the point where the road from Salt Lake City joined ours. According to our guide book the roads would now be heavy; for the road leading up towards the Goose Creek Mountains was hilly and rocky, and pasture for the cattle was scarce. But there were some great springs along the road.

After we had passed the night up on the plateau, we descended into Goose Creek Valley in the morning; a deep valley, with steep mountain sides, through which we reached the lower country. We had seen no fruit on our journey, but by Goose Creek there was an abundance of rather good-tasting berries. After a few days the road ascended the height between Goose Creek Valley and the Humboldt Valley; on the other side a sagebrush plain extended before us. As we were moving along the road, four Indians on horseback came riding after us, and tried to communicate something to us by means of a great many signs and gestures. They laid their hands on their breasts and said "Shoshone, — Shoshone," and pointing up the valley, they shook their heads. At length they rode away and we saw no more of them. We did not understand that they wished to warn us against the Indians whom we would meet farther on.

We passed the night by a little brook where there was plenty of grass. Next day we entered a narrow valley with mountains on both sides, known as Humboldt Canyon; warm springs here poured out from the rock wall. As we descended, the valley widened out and before us lay a broad grass-grown plain. In the evening we drove the cattle over to the brook, which ran a little distance from the road; here was such an abundance of grass that the cattle had a feast such as they had not enjoyed for several days past. The animals settled down near the wagons, and all but the watchmen went to bed as usual.

The next morning five of our draught oxen were gone. A careful search revealed their tracks and those of four horses,

and we no longer doubted that the Indians had stolen them. In the dark the Indians had spirited them away under the noses of our guards. Twelve men set out on foot in pursuit of the thieves, but after a march of some four or five miles without a trace of the oxen, a council was held to decide what should be done. It was decided to continue the pursuit. But as it promised to be a long search, I was sent back for provisions. I returned and managed to collect the necessary food, but was not allowed to carry it back; for Søren Knudsen and Nels Nelson insisted on going in my place. They returned, however, at sunset, without having found the others.

Fearing more visits from the Indians we made an enclosure with the wagons and herded the cattle inside it; in this way it was easier to mount guard over them. While serving as one of the watchmen that night I recalled the signs and gestures with which the Indians back on the road had warned us and realized their meaning. Our search party returned the next morning. They had found the oxen, slaughtered. The Indians were nowhere to be seen, but were no doubt near enough to see what was going on. All that the men got of the oxen was some meat which they sliced off and roasted at a fire which they kindled. They were famished after having tramped all day without a bite to eat. After eating they started back to camp, but they found progress quite difficult in the sagebrush. At nightfall they were tired and lay down to rest until morning.

After having lost so many oxen (the Rock Run people had lost four) we had to rearrange the whole caravan. We still had two yoke of oxen for each wagon; and since the loads had grown much lighter now that so much of our provisions had been consumed, this would probably suffice. Soon we were ready to start again, and set forth on dry, dusty roads. There were few trees, but for fuel there was plenty of sagebrush. As there was good water in the river and plenty of grass everywhere, it was no longer necessary for K. Knudsen to hunt up camp sites in advance. At night the older men kept watch, and we got along without lighting a fire in the evening.

One day we met a man named Doans from Iowa County, Wisconsin, with three wagons and a large herd of cattle, who had

no other assistance than his wife and two sisters. He could now get no farther because the sixteen men to whom he had given free transportation in return for their help as far as Sacramento had all left him; they thought that they were by then near enough to the gold fields to make the rest of the trip on foot. They had taken all the provisions they could carry, but the distance was probably too great for these to last until their arrival. Mr. Doans now joined us; for we were many and could give him the necessary aid. He was compelled, however, to leave one of his wagons behind.

We now learned of others who had also lost cattle; the Indians always got the blame, even though white men might be the ringleaders. At Stone Point a company of emigrants lost some cattle and sent out four men to search for them. At length they found the cattle, but were attacked by the band of robbers, consisting of five white men and a number of Indians. The four emigrants were well armed, and the Indians, who shot their arrows from a safe distance, could do them no harm. Thus they had the upper hand and got their animals back.

Many others who lost cattle followed their tracks and thought they were hot on their heels, but nevertheless failed to get hold of them. A certain man lost twelve horses by Stone Point one night. In the morning he followed their tracks until they began to point towards Salt Lake; then he turned back, for he knew where they were going and that his pursuit was in vain.

We now traveled for several days without mishap. We were all well, and the road, though dusty, was fairly level. Now and then we had to cross a hill sloping down to the river, where the road was rocky. The Humboldt River has clear water and a fairly swift current. We now approached the great so-called "Sink," a reedy swamp into which the waters of the Humboldt and two rivers from the south are emptied and disappear. The water in the river was still, and the ground was everywhere marshy and covered with coarse grass.

On the following day we reached the point where the Central California or Carson road turns south, and the old Oregon or Mount Lassen road turns west. The latter, which we followed, led us up on the plateau from which we could see the dark green

surface of the water, extending southward as far as the eye could see. In the evening we reached the so-called "Twelve-mile Spring," where there was good water but little grass.

The next morning we learned of an unfortunate accident which had happened to a young man in a company from Madison, Wisconsin. He and his brother-in-law were busy packing up some things, among which was a loaded gun. The gun was accidentally discharged and shot him in the side, instantly killing him, to the great grief of his companion. He was buried the same day, and we stopped for his funeral. It was conducted in the same way as the earlier ones we had seen: the deceased was buried a short distance from the road, without coffin and without ceremonies.

According to our guide book, twenty-six miles now lay between us and the next place where we could get water. The road constantly ascended, the scenery grew ever more mountainous, and night fell before we arrived. K. Knudsen had gone ahead to the stopping place, which was known as Rabbit-hole Spring. There was good water, but little grass; and as the next twenty miles lay through a sand plain where nothing grew but sagebrush, the prospects for our cattle were indeed meager. But we must proceed, no matter how slow our progress over these heavy sand roads. Once we reached a place where two years before a party of emigrants had been surprised by a sandstorm and had perished. Remains could still be seen of oxen and horses lying in pairs and partly covered with sand; of the wagons nothing was left but wheel rims and other iron work. The hides and hair of the five yoke of oxen and of several teams of horses lying there in the sand were surprisingly well preserved. The sight I saw there made so deep an impression on me that I can never forget it.

In the evening we arrived in good condition at Black Rock Spring, where we found water and grass and remained over Sunday. There must be warm springs higher up in the valley, for down in the plain where the water was still, it was warm enough to wash clothes in. Here we left the old Oregon road and traveled more southwesterly towards northern California. From here it was forty-eight miles before we again reached a place where we could find water and grass. As it would take us two days to traverse this distance, we had to carry along some-

thing to feed the animals on the road. We therefore proceeded to cut all the grass that we could find room for in the wagons; and as it was cooler at night, we set forth again at sunset. The moon shone and the road was hard and smooth, so that we covered a considerable distance in the course of the night. In the morning we had reached higher land, where we could see a few mountain tops in the distance. Here we rested a couple of hours to feed the cattle and to get some food and coffee for ourselves.

A little later we found a spring where the water boiled as in a great kettle; sometimes it shot several feet into the air. Here we could cook our food without bothering to gather wood and build a fire. Our path was now through a sagebrush plain, which made difficult going. At length we reached Deep Spring, where there were many springs and an abundance of grass (rushes) for the cattle, and there we stopped until the following evening.

Again we set out in the evening twilight. We reached our next stop in the morning, after thirty miles of poor roads. Here was water, but for pasture we had to travel a short distance farther to some lower land. Our road was a new one, coming from Oregon, and it passed through a territory with plenty of grass and water, which were quite indispensable to travelers in these regions.

Our progress over the heavy sandy roads was slow, until at length we caught sight of Honey Lake, down in the so-called Susan Valley. Here we remained about a day and some of us tried our luck at fishing. We had pretty fair success, and caught many fish of different sizes. The fish were good, and very welcome as a change in our rather monotonous diet.

To the west of us we could now descry a forest, a novel sight to us after having traveled so long through a treeless country. Our little rest had been a great boon to the oxen, for now they plodded on quite rapidly. All day we traveled up the Susan Valley, which was rather broad and seemed to have fertile soil; we made camp not far from the pine woods. Here we found it advisable to take a few days' rest and refresh our cattle for the march through the forest, where we realized there would be a shortage of pasture. There were Indians in the neighborhood; for we could see the light of their camp fire on the edge of the

forest. It struck me that Susan Valley should be a good place in which to settle; the land was excellent for cultivation, with plenty of wood near by. I later heard that emigrants settled in the valley as early as the following year.

Our supply of provisions was now dwindling, but Mr. Doans, whom we met near the Humboldt River, still had a large supply and shared with us. After two days' rest both men and cattle felt strengthened and went on. But we found that there were many obstructions in the forest, and we made slow progress. Sometimes we found large trees lying in the road; either we had to remove enough of them to get through, or else we had to clear a new road at one side. There were plenty of brooks and springs where we could stop at night; but there was little grass, and certain murmurs of dissatisfaction were heard from some of the party.

Some days later we finally reached Black Butte Creek, and followed it to Black Butte Lake. This lake was three miles long, and on its left shore was a volcano which had been active a few years before. Large trees were left standing dry among the rocks; in places the ashes and the lava extended to a depth of a hundred feet. Farther away were young trees which had grown up after the lava stream and the ash rain had ceased.

That night we stopped on a plain near the foot of Lassen Peak. There was snow on the north side of the mountain all summer, and the water which poured down the mountain side was cold and pure. In the morning the ascent began, at first through a forest of large trees which gradually grew smaller, until on the summit they altogether disappeared. Up here was pure air; in the winter the snow was said to lie very deep here. Before us lay the broad Sacramento Valley. On the descent we found many large trees; one that we measured had a circumference of twenty feet. In a couple of days we had descended so far that deciduous trees began to appear. The grass was dried up, for we were now in the midst of the dry season. We were approaching the Sacramento River, and the road crossed the wide plain which surrounds it. We stopped at a place near Fort Redding, and here we remained for a time.

We were now at the goal of our journey. We had been on

the road for five months and three days: from April 27 to September 30. We were all in good health, and all were happy that we had arrived; no one referred now to the hardships, accidents, and discomforts we had endured on the journey.

Fort Redding was a post where provisions could be obtained; a division of cavalry was stationed here for protection against the Indians, perhaps also to maintain law and order among the gold miners if necessary. Work could be had at the fort for $75.00 a month and rations of the same kind as was given to the soldiers, and the work was said not to be difficult. We had now sold our share in the cattle to K. Knudsen, and we seven from Rock Run, Illinois, had decided to try our luck in the mines for a time. Ten of the others had begun to work at Fort Redding, and those of them who could be considered skilled laborers got $85.00 per month. One of them was to serve as cook.

We packed up what we had left of clothes and other property and made ready to start for the mines, twelve miles on the other side of the Sacramento River. We crossed the river in a boat, and came to Clear Creek, where the mines were situated; the first persons we met were Halvor Nelson and his two brothers from Clayton County, Iowa. Here we stopped a while, and Halvor accompanied us to town to buy provisions. It was a small town, and everything was expensive because most goods came from the States. Pork and flour cost twenty-four cents a pound, and other articles were in proportion. We also bought the necessary implements, and then we began our work. We had to sleep in the open air on the bare ground, but did not mind it here where the air and ground were so dry. One of us was chosen to cook; our kitchen was spacious enough, for cooking also was done in the open. The cost of provisions had again risen. At a fire in Sacramento a large supply of goods and provisions was destroyed, and this was given as the reason for the general rise in prices. Coffee and sugar now sold for a dollar a pound.

In November it rained a little. K. Knudsen and his sons, and Halvor Kjørn had now joined us. They had taken cattle with them and were bound on a journey over the mountains to Humboldt Bay on the Pacific. This might turn out to be a rather

difficult journey; for the time of the year was now approaching when snow would fall in the mountains.

For the winter we moved to a hut which we found three miles up in the hills. It was a log cabin, but so full of openings that we had to cover it with canvas. It was high time that we got under cover, for now it rained nearly every day. We laid in a good supply of provisions; for it was predicted that the prices would continue to rise. We were paying forty-four cents a pound for pork. A great deal of rain fell in November and December. The brooks, which were empty at our arrival, were now full of water. Sometimes there would be snow on the ground in the morning, but by the afternoon it had usually disappeared. The roads were so thoroughly drenched, that nearly all traffic ceased. All kinds of food rose sharply in price: pork and flour cost $.88 a pound; farther south they were said to cost $1.25 per pound.

Late in January spring began to come, and the sun broke through the clouds. By February it had grown warm, the fields turned green, and the fruit trees spread the pleasant aroma of their blossoms everywhere. By March all things were growing rapidly, under the influence of the warmth and sunshine and occasional showers. But in April began the drouth, which lasted to the end of September.

At our location there was, we found, too little water to wash out gold with, and hence we moved to Clear Creek, where we had been the previous summer, and where we had bought ground and water right. In June it was so hot at midday that we had to cease work and stay in the shade. Gunder Halvorsen came to us from Fort Redding, but he was sick and had to go to bed. Late in July he died and was buried in the hillside a short distance away; for no graveyard had as yet been laid out. Soon after, Halvor Gallog at Fort Redding also died, so that three of our party had now passed away. The price of food had by this time fallen quite low, and we had supplied ourselves with enough provisions to last through the winter.

In November the rain again commenced, and we returned to the dry district where we could work only in winter when much rain fell.

In the spring of 1854 Narve T. Stabæk and Gunder A. Halvorsen of our company and Halvor Nelson from Iowa returned to the States. They caught a steamer from San Francisco to Panama, crossed the Isthmus, and then took another steamer to New York.

We still worked at the same place. That spring Brynnil Rønne from Voss and Ole A. Langrud from Iowa County, Wisconsin, came up from the mining districts farther south and joined us during the summer. But then Ole Langrud fell ill with brain fever and died. He was buried by the side of Gunder Halvorsen. August was very hot, and we suffered much from sickness, but as soon as the rainy season began, things grew better. That fall C. K. Rostad returned to his home in Winnebago County, Illinois, by way of Panama like the others.

As usual there was much rain in November and December, and the washing of gold was carried on as energetically as possible while the water lasted. We had now reached the spring of 1855, and the winter work was over. Those of our companions who had stayed at Fort Redding prepared to return to their homes in Wisconsin. They were: Halvor Hersgard, C. Evensen, Ole Trulsen (Wee), Ole Hansen, and Fred Giving. All of these had families to support. We later heard that these, as well as the earlier ones, arrived home safe and sound.

We had another hot summer and still continued in the same place. Only four of our company now remained. After another rainy winter came the spring of 1856 with the usual flowers and birdsong. This time it was Thurston Knudsen and Nels Nelson who were seized with a longing for home and prepared to start for the East. They sailed from San Francisco to Nicaragua on a steamer, but after they had started, they learned that there were disturbances there; so they, too, went by way of Panama. While they were waiting in Aspinwall [Colon] for the boat to New York, a riot took place and several travelers, among them Nels Nelson, were robbed of all they owned. Aside from that they all got home safely.

This summer we made but little profit, and there was much sickness on account of the warm climate. During the rainy season we worked up in the hills as usual. In the spring of 1857

most of the workers traveled up into the mountains. Toward the end of April, I too left Clear Creek and went through Shasta over the mountains to Trinity County and to a little river of the same name, where I settled down at a place called Ridgeville. Here was a fine climate; clear cold water came down from the mountains, on the north side of which the snow lay all summer. On account of the heavy snowfall there was little to do here in the winter, and when the rainy season began in November, I returned to Clear Creek. My companions were still there and kept on washing gold until 1858. I and another man once more crossed the mountains to Trinity County. We remained there only two weeks because the returns on our work were so small that it did not pay. Besides I had now had enough of digging gold, and decided to return to Winnebago County, Illinois. So we went to Shasta County. I was now in company with an American named Sam Stratten, from Illinois, who intended to return with me. But it so happened that he was not ready when I left.

I now had to leave the home I had had and say goodby to my companions. There was only one, however, Svale Nelson, who remained of the party that had come overland together. I traveled thirty miles to Red Bluff, where the boat was to leave at eight o'clock on the morning of June 1. On my arrival at the hotel I met Sam Stratten, who contrary to my expectations had made ready and had secured special conveyance to town.

Next day we arrived in San Francisco at nine o'clock in the evening, and put up at a hotel. The day after we inquired at the office of the steamship company concerning steamers and ticket prices to New York. As there was only one line, the prices were very high. We had to pay $150.00 for third class passage to New York. On top of that came railroad fare and many other expenses which we would have to meet before we got home. When we looked over the company we found there were seven bound for Illinois, three for Missouri, and two for Wisconsin. San Francisco was a new city, but through its shipping trade it had business connections with the entire world.

On the morning of June 5, 1858, we all went on board the steamer, which forthwith glided slowly through the Golden Gate

and was soon on the open sea. As we sailed southward, the air grew warmer. We could see the coast nearly all the way. We stopped at Acapulco [Mexico], where coal, mail, cattle, fruit, and other articles were taken on board. The weather was beautiful and the sea calm. On the eighteenth the boat cast anchor outside of Panama. In the morning a little steamer came and conveyed the passengers and their baggage to the city. There was no time to take breakfast before we left the boat, but Sam Stratten suggested that we try the cooks, and we succeeded in smuggling with us enough to take the edge off our hunger. We traveled by the railroad to Aspinwall, where we went on board the New York boat, which lay there, ready to sail.

The next morning we were on the Caribbean Sea. The weather was clear, and we could see a few islands. We used the time to rest ourselves a few days. We then entered the Gulf of Mexico, and found that the sea was not so calm here as on the Pacific coast. Outside New Orleans we met a boat which took mail and passengers for New Orleans and Cuba. Off Cape Hatteras it was somewhat stormy. On the morning of the ninth day we approached New York. It had taken twenty-one days from San Francisco.

On Sunday morning we had to pass through a thorough cleansing. The morning after, we secured new clothes and went to Brooklyn, where we bought tickets to Chicago for $20.00. It took two days and three nights to reach Chicago. Here I had to leave my good companions. Sam Stratten was going to Altona, Illinois, and he therefore traveled south, while I was going west. I bought a ticket to Beloit, Wisconsin. From there I took another railroad to Durand, Illinois, where I arrived on July 5, 1858. I came home unexpectedly, for I had not informed my relatives that I was on the way. I had then been gone for six years, two months, and eight days.

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Borgerson, B. O., Illinois
Bothne, Gisle, Minnesota
Braa, Christian, North Dakota
Branae, A. P., Minnesota
Brandt, Chr., Iowa
Brandt, Margrete Didrikke, Iowa
*Brandt, O. E., Minnesota
Bratrud, Milton T., Minnesota
Brechlin, Sister Lina, New York
Breeke, O. E., Minnesota
Brekke, S. J., Illinois
*Brevig, Olaf, Iowa
Brosvick, Wm. F., Minnesota
Brown, J. N., Minnesota
*Brown, Mrs. Oakley Kissam, Illinois
*Bruce, G. M., Minnesota
Brunsvold, A. C., North Dakota
Brusegaard, Thos., Minnesota
Bruun, H. N., Illinois
Bu, O. A., Minnesota
Buer, O., Illinois
*Bugge, S. B., Wisconsin
Burtness, Harold Wm., Illinois
Burtness, O. B., North Dakota
*Busch, H. W., Illinois
Byholt, Miss Martha, Minnesota
Cadbury, Henry J., Pennsylvania
**Cappelen-Smith, E. A., New York
Carlsen, C., Illinois
Carlsen, Clarence J., North Dakota
Carlson, B. E., Massachusetts
Carlson, John, Wisconsin
Carlson, Lawrence M., Minnesota
Chommie, H. O., Minnesota
Chorlog, John K., Wisconsin
Christensen, Mrs. Christine, Wisconsin
Christiansen, Lars, North Dakota
Christophersen, C. B., Illinois

Christopherson, E. B., Wisconsin
Clausen, Clarence, Illinois
Clausen, G. L., Illinois
Cornelius, Casper, Minnesota
Dahl, M. M., Iowa
*Dahl, Theo. L., Wisconsin
*Dahlen, Andrew, Minnesota
Dahlen, P. I., North Dakota
Dalager, Rudolph L., California
Dale, Herman F., Iowa
*Dalldorf, E. W., Minnesota
Daly, K. S., Wisconsin
Danielson, P. C., Minnesota
Davidson, D. O., Illinois
Davidson, Henry, Iowa
Dieserud, Juul, District of Columbia
Dordal, John, North Dakota
Dorheim, I. G., Iowa
Dorrum, I., Iowa
Drage, J. L., Minnesota
Drotning, Anna, Minnesota
Duvold, L. M., Illinois
Dyrness, C. T., Illinois
Eastvold, C. J., South Dakota
Eckers, H. A., Illinois
Eckholdt, H. A., Florida
Edmonds, C. L., Minnesota
Ege, E. G., Minnesota
*Egge, Adolph, Minnesota
*Eggers, Aug., North Dakota
Eide, Odd, Minnesota
Eide, T. A., Minnesota
Eidem, S. S., South Dakota
Eidsness, John, Washington
*Eikenes, H. D., North Dakota
Einhaug, Alfred, Minnesota
Eitrheim, C. E., Minnesota
Eittreim, K. O., Iowa

Ekeland, E., Illinois
*Ekern, Herman L., Wisconsin
Eliason, Norman, Iowa
Ellefson, Miss Ingeborg M., Minnesota
Ellingson, George H., Minnesota
Ellingson, Herman, Iowa
Ellis, Mrs. James W., Illinois
Elvestrøm, Victor, Washington
Endrea, Mathilde Thomas, Illinois
Enestvedt, C. C., Minnesota
Enestvedt, O. O., Minnesota
Engebretson, E., North Dakota
Engebretson, W. H., Minnesota
Engelstad, Conrad N., Illinois
Engen, H. A., Iowa
Enger, L., Illinois
Enger, L. L., Minnesota
Enger, Olaf, North Dakota
Engstad, J. E., North Dakota
Engstrom, O. P. J., South Dakota
Engum, H. G., Wisconsin
Erickson, B., Wisconsin
Erickson, J. E., Montana
*Erickson, P. E., Illinois
Erling, O. O., Minnesota
Estrem, C. O., Minnesota
Estrem, G. R., North Dakota
Estrem, Joseph, Minnesota
*Evenson, C. N., Iowa
Evenson, Emil, Minnesota
Evenson, Oscar, Minnesota
Evenson, Thorvald, Illinois
Everson, Geo. B., North Dakota
Fagereng, J. A., Minnesota
*Faleide, I. H., Illinois
Farseth, Elisa Pauline, Minnesota
Farseth, Harold, Minnesota
*Fay, Hans, New York

*Fedt, Lars, California
Felland, O. G., Minnesota
Field, L. N., North Dakota
Fieve, Bjarne, Wisconsin
Fieve, Torleif, Minnesota
Figved, E. Nyman, Massachusetts
Finstad, John S., Washington
**Five, Ola, Norway
Fjelde, J. H., North Dakota
Fjelde, Jacob, Minnesota
*Fjeldsaa, Mrs. Ruth L., New York
Fjeldstad, C. Alford, Minnesota
Fjeldstad, R. M., Wisconsin
Fjærlie, Andrew, Washington
Fjærlie, Ole, Washington
Flaten, Nils, Minnesota
†Floan, A. C., Minnesota
Flom, George T., Illinois
Flom, H. H., Iowa
Fosmark, Melvin B., Wisconsin
*Fosnes, Walter, Minnesota
Foss, H. A., North Dakota
Foss, Jonas, Illinois
Foss, Lars, North Dakota
Fossum, Peter, Minnesota
Fretheim, S. J., Iowa
*Friele, H. B., Washington
Fries, Jer. F., South Dakota
Froiland, G. S., Minnesota
Fylling, Ole, Minnesota
Fynboe, C. Sølling, Nebraska
Fyrand, Edmore T., Minnesota
*Garnaas, L. B., North Dakota
Giere, Nils, Minnesota
Giere, R. W., Minnesota
Gilbert, Gustav, California
Gisvold, Martin P., Minnesota
Gjernes, K. O., North Dakota

Gjerset, Albert, Minnesota
*Gjerset, Knut, Iowa
Gjerset, Maurice J., Illinois
*Gjerset, Oluf, Minnesota
*Gjorde, Peder P., Washington
Glaserud, O. G., North Dakota
Glasoe, P. M., Minnesota
Glesne, O., Iowa
Glomseth, L. J., North Dakota
Goplen, Ole O., Minnesota
*Goplerud, L. C., Oregon
Graff, Einar, Illinois
Granhus, Bernold, Minnesota
*Granskou, Johannes, Iowa
Gravdahl, Sister Mathilde, New York
Greene, Rolf E., Wisconsin
Grefthen, O. L., Minnesota
*Grevstad, N. A., Illinois
Grimstad, C. M., Wisconsin
Grinde, C. A., South Dakota
Grindeland, A., Minnesota
Grondahl, L. O., Pennsylvania
Grose, I. F., Minnesota
Grotnes, Alice L., Illinois
Grove, H. G., Minnesota
Grude, Paul, Illinois
Guettler, H. W., Illinois
Gulbrandson, Esther, Minnesota
*Guldbrandsen, Thorvald, Minnesota
*Gullicksen, O., Illinois
Gullickson, Ludvig, Minnesota
Gullixson, George A., Illinois
Gullixson, T. F., North Dakota
*Gundersen, A., Wisconsin
Gundersen, Oscar, Illinois
Gunderson, G., Minnesota
Gunderson, G. M., Illinois
Gunderson, L. C., Wisconsin

Gundlach, E. T., Illinois
Gunnarson, Theo. A., South Dakota
Gunsten, Gustav, Iowa
Haagenson, H. T., Illinois
Haakenstad, Otto, North Dakota
Haaland, Osul T., Minnesota
Haavik, E. C., Iowa
Hagen, Carl O., Iowa
Hagen, Martin S., North Dakota
Hagen, Sivert N., Pennsylvania
Hain, O. A., Minnesota
Hakstad, Mrs. Sigrid, Illinois
Hall, J. O., Oregon
Hall, R. M., Iowa
Hall, Reinhard, New York
Hallan, Elmer L., Michigan
Halland, J. G., North Dakota
Halseth, James, Illinois
Halseth, Jeanette, Illinois
Halverson, A. A., North Dakota
Halvorsen, Ole G., Illinois
Halvorson, George, Iowa
Halvorson, H. C., South Dakota
**Halvorson, Olaf, California
Halvorson, Oscar A., Minnesota
*Hansen, Carl G. O., Minnesota
Hansen, Edward, Illinois
Hansen, H. C., Minnesota
Hansen, J. Martin, Minnesota
*Hansen, R. E., Illinois
Hansen, Mrs. T. Fjelde, Minnesota
Hansen, Ole B., North Dakota
*Hanson, Borger, Iowa
Hanson, Erland H., Illinois
Hanson, G. S., Iowa
Hanson, George A., Minnesota
Hanson, Gustav S., South Dakota
Hanson, J. C. M., Illinois

Hanson, Peter, North Dakota
*Hanssen, C. A., New York
*Harestad, Carl, Illinois
Hatlestad, S., Minnesota
Haugan, B. B. Washington
*Haugan, Clara C., Illinois
*Haugan, Henry A., Illinois
*Haugan, Jevne, Illinois
*Haugan, Oscar H., Illinois
Hauge, A., Indiana
*Hauge, I. J., Minnesota
Hauge, Mons, Minnesota
Haugen, B., Iowa
Haugen, Carl C., Iowa
*Haugen, Donald, Iowa
Haugen, E. P., Illinois
Haugen, Einar, Illinois
Haugen, G. N., Iowa
Haugen, Gilbert, North Dakota
Haugen, Gilbert N., Iowa
*Haugen, J. E., Minnesota
*Haugen, K. I., Iowa
Haugen, Nils, Wisconsin
Havneros, Ivar, Minnesota
Heen, C. A., North Dakota
Hegg, G., North Dakota
Hegg, J. E., Minnesota
Hegland, Martin, Minnesota
Hegstad, Mrs. Regine, Minnesota
Heidenreich, E. Lee, Missouri
Heimdahl, O. E., Washington
*Heitmann, John, Minnesota
**Hektoen, Ludvig, Illinois
*Helland, Andreas, Minnesota
*Helliesen, H. M., Washington
Heltne, Christen, Minnesota
Henderson, Mrs. E. A., Wisconsin
Hendrickson, Edwin, Iowa

Hendrickson, H. N., Minnesota
Hendrickson, H. O., Iowa
**Henriksen, Gustav, Norway
Henstad, A., Minnesota
Herre, J. C., New York
Herreid, Leslie, Wisconsin
Hertsgaard, J. P., Minnesota
*Hertsgaard, O. I., Minnesota
Hervik, Harold, New York
Hestenes, J. M., Minnesota
Hetle, Erik, Minnesota
Hexom, John C., Iowa
*Hiis, C. Oscar, Illinois
Hill, Teber, Minnesota
*Hilleboe, Gertrude M., Minnesota
Hillesland, Anton, Minnesota
Hillis, Catinka Ottesen, North Dakota
Hjelle, O. A., North Dakota
Hjelmeseth, Eilert, Illinois
Hjerleid, H. C., Iowa
Hjermstad, Chr. A. H., Wisconsin
Hjortaas, H. Chr. G., Minnesota
**Hobe, E. H., Minnesota
Hodnefield, Jacob, Minnesota
Høgvold, Torgeir T., Minnesota
Hoel, Walter M., Minnesota
*Hoff, J. Haakon, Illinois
Hoff, Knute M., Minnesota
Hoff, O., North Dakota
Hoff, T. A., Minnesota
Hofgaard, John, Illinois
Hofstead, John A., New York
Hoidahl, Theo. A., Minnesota
Hoidale, Einar, Minnesota
Hoigaard, C. J., Minnesota
Hoiness, A. J., Iowa
Hoivik, T. H., Minnesota
Holand, Hjalmar Rued, Wisconsin

*Holland, P. O., Minnesota
Holm, Theodor, Illinois
**Holmboe, J. A., Oklahoma
*Holmboe, L., Illinois
Holmboe, Rye, Illinois
Holmes, J. A., Wisconsin
Holmes, Louis, Wisconsin
Holstad, S. H., Minnesota
Holte, Halvor, Minnesota
*Holum, J. O., Wisconsin
*Holvik, J. A., Minnesota
*Homnes, Mrs. Frieda Bue, North Dakota
Hong, O. A., North Dakota
*Horjum-Kirkvold, Mrs. Olava, Minnesota
Horneland, C. M., Wisconsin
Hoseid, Thor, Wisconsin
*Hougen, Albert L., Wisconsin
Hougen, John H., Minnesota
Houkom, Alf, Minnesota
Houkom, John A., Wisconsin
Houkom, S. Marius, North Dakota
Houm, Carl A., Wisconsin
Hovde, Brynjolf J., Pennsylvania
Hoverson, Sigurd, Wisconsin
Høverstad, Helge, Minnesota
*Hoverstad, Torger A., Illinois
Hovick, Ole, North Dakota
*Hovland, J. P., Illinois
Hovland, Jacob, Illinois
*Howard, Hans L., Illinois
Huglen, R. J., North Dakota
*Hummeland, Andrew, Illinois
Hunder, M. T., Wisconsin
Hunder, Marcus B., Wisconsin
Huseby, Martin, Illinois
Hustvedt, S. B., California
Hylen, Osmund, Illinois
Ingvaldson, Harold, North Dakota

Ingvoldstad, Orlando, Illinois
*Ingvoldstad, W. B., Iowa
Isolany, G. N., North Dakota
Istad, A. T., Iowa
*Iversen, Iver, New York
Jaastad, Henry O., Arizona
*Jacobsen, Miss Anna, Ohio
*Jacobsen, David L., Minnesota
*Jacobsen, F., Illinois
Jacobsen, Karl T., Iowa
Jacobson, Carl G., Iowa
Jacobson, Miss Clara, Iowa
Jacobson, J. N., Minnesota
Jacobson, O. P. B., Minnesota
Jacobson, Otto A., Minnesota
*Jacobson, W. M., Minnesota
Jahr, Torstein, Norway
Jahren, H. C. M., Wisconsin
Jervell, Hans, Illinois
*Jevne, Miss Alma M., Illinois
Joergenson, G. B., Washington
Johnshoy, M. Casper, Minnesota
Johnson, Alfred O., Minnesota
*Johnson, Arthur Louis, Illinois
*Johnson, Carl A., Wisconsin
Johnson, D. H., North Dakota
Johnson, Gustav, Iowa
*Johnson, Henry J., Illinois
*Johnson, Hobart S., Wisconsin
Johnson, J. A., Wisconsin
Johnson, Joseph F., Illinois
Johnson, L. L., Minnesota
*Johnson, Nils J., Illinois
Johnson, O. T., Minnesota
*Johnson, Olaf B., Illinois
*Johnson, Olaf H., Wisconsin
Johnson, P. S., California
Johnson, Peter, Illinois

Johnson, Peter, North Dakota
Johnson, Russel, Illinois
Johnson, Simon, North Dakota
*Johnson, Thomas G., Illinois
*Johnson, W. O., Illinois
*Jordahl, D. C., Iowa
Jorgenson, Theodore, Minnesota
Jøssendal, Johs., Iowa
Joys, John, Wisconsin
*Kaarmo, Thos., Washington
Kallerud, Alf, Wisconsin
Kandal, K. O., Canada
*Kavli, Fredrick, Minnesota
Kiland, Gustav H., Wisconsin
Kildahl, J. L., South Dakota
Kilen, O. M., North Dakota
Kindley, Bernt, Wisconsin
Kindley, Ole, Minnesota
Kirkeby, Arnold, Illinois
Kjeldson, Mrs. Anton, Wisconsin
Klagstad, Aug., Minnesota
Klaragard, S., Minnesota
Kleppe, Theo., Wisconsin
Kloster, Charles, Iowa
Knaplund, Paul, Wisconsin
**Knudsen, Karl, England
*Knudsen, K. Hv., New York
Knudson, Martin, Minnesota
Knudson, Millard J., Iowa
Knutsen, Jacob M., Iowa
Knutson, Gerhardt E., Minnesota
*Knutson, Harold, Minnesota
Kolden, F. L., Minnesota
Kolderup, T. J., Illinois
*Kolset, Carl D., Minnesota
*Kolseth, O. H., Illinois
*Koren, Paul, Iowa
**Krabol, O. O., Illinois

Krogh, Mrs. Hilda C., Illinois
Krohn, Fredrik, Minnesota
Kroog & Dahl, Minnesota
Kvaase, D., Illinois
Kvale, E. O., North Dakota
*Kvale, O. J., District of Columbia
Kvamme, Kr., Iowa
Kvamme, Torstein, Iowa
Kvammen, M. A., Iowa
Kyllingstad, Magnus, Illinois
Landing, L. Muldrup, Minnesota
Langfeldt, Johan G., Illinois
*Langland, P., Wisconsin
Langslet, Ole, Illinois
Larsen, Anton B., Connecticut
*Larsen, Chas. E., New York
Larsen, G. A., North Dakota
Larsen, Hanna Astrup, New York
Larsen, Henning, Iowa
Larsen, J. A. O., Ohio
Larsen, Karen, Minnesota
Larsen, Martin J., Iowa
*Larson, A. L., South Dakota
Larson, Agnes, Minnesota
Larson, Clarion, Iowa
Larson, Henrietta M., Massachusetts
*Larson, Laurence M., Illinois
Larson, Lawrence O., Wisconsin
Larson, Swend, Minnesota
Lasness, C. H., North Dakota
Laugen, Peter J., Minnesota
Lavik, John, Illinois
Lavik, R., North Dakota
Laws, Theo., Illinois
Leach, Henry Goddard, New York
Lee, A. O., Minnesota
Lee, Agrim, Iowa
Lee, Amund, Minnesota

Lee, Edward J., Minnesota
Lee, G. T., Minnesota
Lee, H., Pennsylvania
Lee, H. M., Minnesota
Lee, John J., Minnesota
Lee, Leif, Ohio
*Lee, Ludvig, North Dakota
Lee, Olav, Minnesota
Lee, S. O., Minnesota
*Lendvig, Ole C., North Dakota
*Leivestad, R., Minnesota
Levang, Chas., Illinois
Lillehei, T. Aug., Wisconsin
Lima, Miss Ruth, Minnesota
Lindrup, John A., Illinois
Linnevold, Wm., Iowa
*Loe, A. O., Washington
Loftfield, Gabriel, Washington
Lofthus, O. E., North Dakota
Loftness, Geo. O., North Dakota
*Loftsgorden, H. J., Wisconsin
Lohre, N. J., Minnesota
Lokensgaard, O., Minnesota
*Lomen, C. J., Alaska
Lucky, Carl E., Minnesota
Lukken, M. A., Minnesota
Lund, Einar, Iowa
*Lund, Gunnar, Washington
Lund, J. E., Washington
Lund, L. H., Illinois
Lund, L. P., Minnesota
Lundeberg, K. O., Minnesota
Lunder, Leonard S., Wisconsin
Lundquist, G. R., Illinois
Luther, Martin, New York
Lyng, John, Minnesota
Lysnes, Olaf, Wisconsin
Maakestad, John J., Virginia

Madsen, H. K., Illinois
Magelssen, Finn, Minnesota
Magelssen, J. W., Minnesota
Malmin, Gunnar, Iowa
Malmin, J. M., Minnesota
Malmin, Olaf, South Dakota
*Malmin, R., Minnesota
*Markhus, W. T., Minnesota
Markve, Arthur, Minnesota
Martens, Rudolph M., Massachusetts
Martin, Gus. G., California
Marvick, Louis S., Ohio
Mason, John M., Minnesota
Mathiesen, M., South Dakota
Mattsen, Isak, North Dakota
Mattson, Johan, Minnesota
Meland, R. J., Minnesota
Melhoos, Henry H., Illinois
Mellby, C. A., Minnesota
Mellby, O. F., Minnesota
Meyer, Olaf O., North Dakota
*Michaelsen, M. A., Illinois
Michelet, Wilhelm, Minnesota
Michelson, Albert G., Wisconsin
Midelfart, Chr., Wisconsin
Minne, N. M., Minnesota
Moe, A. J., Iowa
Moe, C. B., Michigan
Moe, Carl, Wisconsin
Moe, Jens, Illinois
*Moe, L. A., Iowa
Moe, Math., Iowa
Moe, Mathias, Pennsylvania
Moe, Odin, Minnesota
Moe, Sofus, Wisconsin
Moe, Torjus, Norway
Mogan, S. G., Washington
Moilien, Jerrold L., Wisconsin

*Mork, O., Wisconsin
Mortrud, H. G., California
Mortvedt, A. O., Illinois
Møst, S. O., Minnesota
*Musaus, John, New York
Myhr, A. F., New York
Myhr, J. B., Minnesota
Myhre, O. O., Minnesota
*Myrland, A. J., Wisconsin
Naess, Ivar Viehe, Illinois
Nass, K. M., North Dakota
Nelson, Allen E., Texas
Nelson, Mrs. Anne P., Illinois
Nelson, Arthur N., Illinois
Nelson, David T., Iowa
Nelson, J. A., Iowa
Nelson, K. E., North Dakota
Nelson, Knute, Illinois
Nelson, N. H., Iowa
*Nelson, Nelson B., New York
Nelson, Oley, Iowa
Nelson, Samuel A., Minnesota
Nelson, Wm. E., North Dakota
Neprud, N. K., Minnesota
Nerland, Andrew, Alaska
Nervig, Adolph M., Iowa
Nervig, Casper B., Minnesota
*Nesheim, A. H., Illinois
Ness, Hans C., Iowa
Ness, Johannes T., Montana
Ness, M. O., Minnesota
Nestegard, Thor G., North Dakota
Nestos, R. A., North Dakota
Netland, A. O., Minnesota
Nettland, Ralph L., Illinois
Neumann, A. B., Illinois
Newell, A. J., Illinois
Nielsen, A. H., Wisconsin

**Nilsen, Jacob, Illinois
Nissen, Henrik, Minnesota
Nomedal, Mrs. Gudrun, Illinois
*Norbeck, Peter, South Dakota
Norby, Ole J., Minnesota
*Nordahl, Adolph H., Illinois
*Nordby, Harold I., Minnesota
Nordgaard, O., Norway
Nordlie, Herman C., Minnesota
Norlie, O. M., New York
*Normann, H. M., Iowa
Normann, J. P., Minnesota
Normann, O. A., Minnesota
Nornborg, John, Minnesota
Norstog, Mrs. Inga, North Dakota
Norstrand, H. P. G., New York
Oas, Peter M., Minnesota
Oas, T., Minnesota
Odegaard, A. O., North Dakota
**Odegard, S. L., California
Odland, Martin W., Minnesota
*Oftedahl, Hans L., Illinois
Oftedal, Arne, North Dakota
Oftedal, Mrs. E. L., Minnesota
Oftedal, S., North Dakota
Oftelie, Torkel, Minnesota
Oglænd, Jonas B., New York
Oien, F. C., Illinois
Oksendahl, Andrew H., North Dakota
**Oleson, O. M., Iowa
Olness, S. A., North Dakota
*Olsen, Christ, Illinois
Olsen, Miss L. Katherine, Minnesota
Olsen, Miss Laura M., Wisconsin
Olsen, Nils A., District of Columbia
Olsen, O., New Jersey
Olsen, O. P., Minnesota
Olsen, W. O., North Dakota

Olson, G. H., Illinois
Olson, Grant, Wisconsin
*Olson, Julius E., Wisconsin
Olson, Ole H., Iowa
*Olson, Oscar L., Iowa
Olson, Torger, Wisconsin
Omdahl, Oscar, Iowa
Ongstad, Arthur, Minnesota
Oppen, Gilbert, Minnesota
Opstad, Robert, Illinois
Orbeck, Anders, New York
*Ordal, Z. J., Wisconsin
*Ornes, John M., Minnesota
*Orwoll, C. S., Minnesota
**Osland, Birger, Illinois
Osland, O. M., New York
Otheim, John, North Dakota
Otterness, O. J., South Dakota
Otterstad, N. L., Minnesota
Overson, Willard B., North Dakota
Oyan, E. J., South Dakota
Oyan, Joseph, South Dakota
**Paasche, J. A., Illinois
Paulsen, Paula L., Illinois
Paulson, Arthur C., Minnesota
Paulson, S., North Dakota
Pederson, Andrew, North Dakota
Pederson, Bernie, Washington
*Pederson, J. M., Illinois
Pederson, John P., Wisconsin
Pederson, J. U., Minnesota
Peterson, Albert, Illinois
Peterson, Fridolph, Iowa
Peterson, H. J., South Dakota
Peterson, Hamlet, Iowa
Peterson, Henry C., Minnesota
Peterson, John, Minnesota
Peterson, O. T., Iowa

Peterson, P. D., Wisconsin
Peterson, S. A., Wisconsin
Peterson, Th. M., Illinois
Pettersen, Wilhelm, Minnesota
Pettersen, K., Illinois
*Pihlfeldt, Thos. G., Illinois
*Prestgard, Kristian, Iowa
Preus, Mrs. C. K., Minnesota
Preus, Herman A., Minnesota
*Preus, J. A. O., Illinois
Preus, J. C. K., Minnesota
Preus, O. J. H., Wisconsin
Quale, Theo., Minnesota
Qualey, Carlton, Minnesota
*Qualley, Orlando, Iowa
Qualley, R. N., Wisconsin
Quam, J. A., Illinois
Quamme, E. G., Minnesota
Rader, Harold C., Illinois
Ranes, Lars, Norway
Rasmussen, Ingeborg, Illinois
*Rasmussen, Miss Mathilde, Minnesota
Ravndal, Eric, North Dakota
**Ray, Olaf E., Illinois
Reiersen, T. J., Minnesota
Reigstad, O. S., Minnesota
Reindal, Knute, Wisconsin
Reinertsen, P. A., Illinois
Reitan, John, Washington
*Remmen, Mrs. Inga, Illinois
Renslo, Nicolai, Minnesota
Reque, Anna C., New York
Reque, J. L., Illinois
**Reque, P., New York
Reque, S. T., Minnesota
*Reque, Sigurd S., Iowa
Reymert, Martin, Ohio
Rigstad, Miss Marie, Illinois

Ringdahl, Olive, Minnesota
Ringstad, Mrs. Aagot, Minnesota
*Ristad, D. G., Wisconsin
Roan, C. M., Minnesota
Roberts, Fred, Illinois
*Roddis, Louis H., District of Columbia
Roe, Edwin B., Wisconsin
*Roe, Herman, Minnesota
Rørstad, Thomas, Minnesota
Rognlie, W. P., North Dakota
Rohn, Ole H., Iowa
Rohne, J. Magnus, Iowa
*Rokne, Anna C., Illinois
*Rølvaag, O. E., Minnesota
Romstad, Mrs. Sophie, Minnesota
*Rønning, N. N., Minnesota
Rood, August, Minnesota
Rood, Wilbur H., Iowa
Rorem, E. R., Iowa
*Roseland, Jens C., Illinois
Rosenqvist, H., Iowa
Rosevold, H. N., North Dakota
Rosholt, J. W., North Dakota
Rovelstad, A. M., Minnesota
*Rowberg, A. A., Minnesota
Ruske, Axel, Minnesota
*Rustegard, John, Alaska
**Ruud, Bernhard, Illinois
Ruud, Helga, Illinois
Ruud, Martin B., Minnesota
*Rydjord, Olaf, Washington
Rydland, E. L., Michigan
Rye, O. H., Iowa
*Rygg, A. N., New York
Rygh, G. T., Minnesota
Rynning, J. Geo. M., Minnesota
Rystad, O. H., North Dakota
Saervold, Ola Johann, Minnesota

Saeter, I. O., Minnesota
Sæther, Gunder, Washington
Sageng, Ole O., Minnesota
Sampson, Henry, Minnesota
*Sand, Olaf, North Dakota
Sand, Oliver C., Minnesota
Sandersen, G. L., North Dakota
Sandved, P. S., Illinois
*Satrang, A. O., Illinois
Saugstad, Johannes, Minnesota
*Savre, B. K., Minnesota
Scarvie, Walter B., Iowa
**Schaefer, Fredric, Pennsylvania
*Scheldrup, N. H., Minnesota
**Schiott, Johannes, Connecticut
Schiotz, Fredrik A., Minnesota
Schjeldahl, B. K., Iowa
*Schmidt, Otto E., Iowa
Seehuus, Clara, Illinois
Seem, K. H., Minnesota
*Seielstad, E. E., Wisconsin
Seierstad, L. P., Norway
Sektnan, M., Montana
Selrod, A., Illinois
Selvig, C. G., Minnesota
Serumgard, Ole, North Dakota
Sethre, Johannes C., Minnesota
Shafland, Sanford, Iowa
Shefveland, O., Iowa
Shelbred, Elizabeth, Illinois
*Sherping, Olaf Th., Minnesota
Shurson, H. O., Minnesota
Simonson, Ben, Minnesota
Simonson, Ida S., Illinois
*Sinding, John, Illinois
Sinness, Torger, North Dakota
Siqueland, T. A., Illinois
*Sivertsen, Ivar, Minnesota

Skavlan, Gunnar, New York
Skille, Edvard, Wisconsin
Skjønsberg, Miss Asgerd, Illinois
Slagsvold, P. L., Minnesota
Sletta, M. E., Illinois
Sletten, J. J., Minnesota
Sletwold, E. O. F., Iowa
Smedsrud, C. N., Iowa
Smith, James L., Illinois
Smørstad, Elmer, Iowa
Sneva, Even A., Montana
Sodahl, J. N., Minnesota
Soelberg, A. P., Iowa
*Soeller, Mrs. Agnes G., Illinois
Soiland, Earl, Minnesota
Solberg, Andrew, Minnesota
*Solberg, Marshall, Illinois
Solheim, A. H., Canada
Sollie, Martin E., Minnesota
Solomonson, A. F., Wisconsin
Solum, Chris, Wisconsin
Solum, H. E., South Dakota
Solum, Nora, Minnesota
*Sonsteby, John J., Illinois
Sorby, Andrew C., Minnesota
Sorenson, A. R., North Dakota
Sorenson, Sigurd T., Minnesota
Sperati, Carlo A., Iowa
**Stabo, T., Iowa
Stae, Ole, Washington
Stange, Christian B., Illinois
*Stange, Geo. A., Illinois
Stavig, E. L., South Dakota
*Stavnheim, L., Minnesota
Stenerson, Gina, Minnesota
Stenshoel, N. P., Minnesota
Stenstrand, Alf, Wisconsin
Stibolt, H. A., Illinois

Stokstad, J. L., Wisconsin
Stolee, M. J., Minnesota
Storvick, O. A., Minnesota
Stoylen, Sigvald, Minnesota
Strand, Olaf, Wisconsin
*Strøm, Oscar A., Ohio
Strom, Carl W., Iowa
*Stub, H. G., Minnesota
Stub, J. A. O., Minnesota
Stuhr, P. W., Illinois
Styre, Haakon, Pennsylvania
Sundheim, A. M., Minnesota
*Svare, H. O., Minnesota
Svare, O. D., North Dakota
**Svebakken, Otto O., Iowa
Svee, Jens, North Dakota
Sverdrup, George, Minnesota
Sverstad, Harold, Illinois
*Swanes, J., Washington
Swansen, H. F., Iowa
Swe, Robert A., Illinois
Sweeggen, P. A., Minnesota
*Swenson, Lauritz S., Norway
**Swenson, Magnus, Wisconsin
Syrdal, P. R., North Dakota
Tanner, Jacob, Minnesota
Taylor, Mrs. R., Minnesota
*Teisberg, C. O., Minnesota
Tellefsen, Carl L., District of Columbia
Tennyson, Theo., Minnesota
Tetlie, Joseph, Minnesota
Thang, E., Minnesota
Thomas, A. L., Illinois
Thompson, H. M., Minnesota
*Thompson, J. Jørgen, Minnesota
Thompson, Jersing, Michigan
Thompson, S. W., North Dakota
Thoner, Peder C., Massachusetts

Thoresen, Geo. T., Illinois
*Thorpe, C. S., Minnesota
Thorpe, H. J., Wisconsin
Thorsen, A. W., Illinois
Thorsgaard, Karl S., Illinois
Thorshov, Roy N., Minnesota
*Thorson, Andrew, North Dakota
Thorson, L. O., Iowa
Thorson, M. H., Minnesota
Thorson, Nelson T., Nebraska
Thorvaldsen, Mrs. Kathrina, New York
Thrane, Victor, Illinois
Thronson, Carman P., Minnesota
*Thue, Andrew P., South Dakota
Thye, Lilly, Illinois
Tingelstad, E., Oregon
*Tingelstad, O. A., Washington
Thykesen, Anna, Minnesota
Tjernagel, N., Iowa
Tjornhom, Alexander T., North Dakota
Toftoy, Holger, Montana
Tollefson, Sander, Illinois
Tolo, Arthur J., Colorado
*Tolo, T. O., Iowa
Tone, Elmer J., Illinois
Tonning, Ole, Minnesota
Tonrud, P. J., Minnesota
Tonseth, Thos., Alaska
Torgerson, A. C., North Dakota
Torgerson, A. G., North Dakota
Torland, E. B., Illinois
*Torland, Tovleif, Washington
*Torrison, George A., Illinois
Torrison, I. B., Iowa
*Torrison, Norman, Wisconsin
Torrison, O. M., Illinois
**Torrison, Mrs. Thos. E., Wisconsin
Torrison, Torris, Wisconsin

Torson, L. N., North Dakota
Torvik, Gunerius, Madagascar
Tosdal, H. M., North Dakota
Triebel, Paul G., Illinois
*Tronnes, Nils, North Dakota
Trooien, Carl N., Minnesota
Trytten, C. O., North Dakota
Turmo, Olaf L., Nebraska
Tvedten, C. M., Minnesota
Tveit, S. S., Minnesota
*Tweed, George P., Minnesota
Tweito, Thomas, Minnesota
Udstad, S., Missouri
*Ueland, Andreas, Minnesota
Ulvilden, George, South Dakota
Undem, R. M., South Dakota
Unger, John S., Illinois
Unstad, Lyder, Minnesota
*Urberg, S. S., Wisconsin
Urdahl, Elvin R., North Dakota
Urdahl, Magnus, Massachusetts
Urheim, J. L., Illinois
Urheim, Olaf J., Illinois
Ursin, Ove M. B., Minnesota
*Ustrud, H. A., South Dakota
Utigaard, K. B., California
Vaagen, Johannes, North Dakota
Valler, K. B., South Dakota
**Veblen, A. A., California
Vennesland, G. O., Illinois
Vevle, Oliver, Iowa
*Vigness, L. A., Minnesota
Vinje, Peder P., Illinois
Vinje, Syver, North Dakota
Vistaunet, P. L., Minnesota
Vogt, Fredrik, Norway
Vollintine, Grace, Illinois
Waage, Hans L., Minnesota

Walby, T. A., Wisconsin
Waldeland, M. E., Minnesota
Walker, Emil, Wisconsin
Wambheim, H. G., North Dakota
Wangenstein, J. J., Minnesota
Wannebo, Hans, Minnesota
*Washburn, J. L., Minnesota
Wedum, J. W., Montana
Wee, M. O., Minnesota
*Wefald, Knud, Minnesota
Weium, O. J., North Dakota
Wendelbo, Per, Portugal
Werner, August, New York
*Westegaard, B., New York
Westgaard, Ole, North Dakota
Weswig, C. M., Minnesota
*Wick, B. L., Iowa
Wigstel, Carl, New York
*Williamson, A. E., Illinois
Winkjer, Jonathan, North Dakota
Winther, Paul, Minnesota
Wisness, O. A., North Dakota
Witsøe, R. A., North Dakota
*Wold, Nels B., Illinois
Wold, Theo., Minnesota
Woldum, Martin, Iowa
Wollan, Kenneth, Minnesota
Wulfsberg, E., Minnesota
*Ylvisaker, C. B., Minnesota
*Ylvisaker, Mrs. I. D., Illinois
Ylvisaker, J. W., Iowa
Ylvisaker, N. M., Minnesota
Ylvisaker, S. J. N., Minnesota
Ytrehus, Oscar B., Illinois

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Norwegian Old People's Home, Illinois
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**Trønderlaget, in honor of Ole Rynning

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF MEMBERS

Based upon the list of members as corrected to May 1, 1929. The figures include the institutional members and also the memorial memberships of the association.

United States

Minnesota	346	District of Columbia	5
Illinois	209	Nebraska	3
Iowa	116	Oregon	3
North Dakota	115	Texas	3
Wisconsin	100	Alabama	2
New York	34	Connecticut	2
South Dakota	32	Missouri	2
Washington	27	Arizona	1
California	11	Colorado	1
Pennsylvania	8	Florida	1
Massachusetts	7	Indiana	1
Michigan	6	New Jersey	1
Montana	6	Oklahoma	1
Ohio	6	Virginia	1
Alaska	5	West Virginia	1
Wyoming	1		

Foreign Countries

Norway	11	Madagascar	2
Canada	2	England	1
Portugal	1		

Total Membership	1,083
Members deceased since May 1, 1928	11
Active Membership	1,072

Net gain during the year, fifty-four members

PUBLICATIONS OF THE NORWEGIAN-AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

STUDIES AND RECORDS

VOLUME I. Minneapolis, 1926. 175 p. Contains the following articles and documents: "Health Conditions and the Practice of Medicine among the Early Norwegian Settlers, 1825–1865," by Knut Gjerset and Ludvig Hektoen; "The Norwegian Quakers of 1825," by Henry J. Cadbury; "Bishop Jacob Neumann's Word of Admonition to the Peasants," translated and edited by Gunnar J. Malmin; Reiersen's contemporary account of "Norwegians in the West in 1844," translated and edited by Theodore C. Blegen; Cock-Jensen's "An Emigrant Voyage in the Fifties," translated and edited by Karen Larsen; and Carl F. Solberg's "Reminiscences of a Pioneer Editor," edited by Albert O. Barton. Price $2.00.

VOLUME II. Northfield, Minnesota, 1927. 137 p. Contains the following articles and documents: "Norwegian Emigrant Songs," translated and edited by Martin B. Ruud; "Four Immigrant Shiploads of 1836 and 1837," by Henry J. Cadbury; "Immigration as Viewed by a Norwegian Farmer in 1869," a letter translated and edited by Jacob Hodnefield; "The Norwegian Pioneer in the Field of American Scholarship," by Laurence M. Larson; "Norwegian Language and Literature in American Universities," by George T. Flom; and "Norwegian-American Church History," by George M. Stephenson. Price $2.00.

VOLUME III. Northfield, Minnesota, 1928. 133 p. Contains the following articles and documents: "The Disillusionment of an Immigrant: Sjur Jørgensen Haaeim's 'Information on Conditions in North America,'" translated and edited by Gunnar J. Malmin; "A Doctrinaire Idealist: Hans Barlien," by D. G. Ristad: "Norwegian-American Emigration Societies of the Forties and Fifties," by Albert O. Barton; "Emigration as Viewed by a Norwegian Student of Agriculture in 1850: A. Budde's 'From a Letter About America,'" translated by

A. Sophie Bøe, with an introduction by Theodore C. Blegen; "An Immigration Journey to America in 1854," a letter translated and edited by Henrietta Larson; "Chicago as Viewed by a Norwegian Immigrant in 1864," a letter translated and edited by Brynjolf J. Hovde; "The Historical Value of Church Records," by J. Magnus Rohne; "A Norwegian-American Landnamsman: Ole S. Gjerset," by Knut Gjerset; "The Icelandic Communities in America: Cultural Backgrounds and Early Settlements," by Thorstina Jackson. Price $2.00.

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION SERIES

VOLUME I. *Ole Rynning's True Account of America.* Translated and edited by Theodore C. Blegen. Minneapolis, 1926. 100 p. Contains historical introduction; original text of Rynning's book about America as published in Norway in 1838; and a complete English translation. Price $1.00.

VOLUME II. *Peter Testman's Account of His Experiences in North America.* Translated and edited by Theodore C. Blegen. Northfield, Minnesota, 1927. 60 p. Contains historical introduction; facsimile of Testman's account of America as published in Norway in 1839; and a complete English translation. Price $1.00.

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SPECIAL PUBLICATIONS

Norwegian Sailors on the Great Lakes: A Study in the History of American Inland Transportation. By Knut Gjerset. Northfield, Minnesota, 1928. 211 p. Contains eight chapters: Introduction; Early Conditions and Some Norwegian Pioneer Sailors and Captains in Lake Michigan Ports; Shipowners and Shipbuilders; The Ascendancy of Sailing Vessels; A Period of Transition; Duluth and Superior; Lake Captains in the Period of the Ascendancy of Sailing Vessels and Later; Lake Captains in Active Service. (Cloth binding.) Price $2.50.

The above publications may be purchased from the Financial Secretary, Dean J. Jørgen Thompson, St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minnesota.

A SUGGESTION

The establishment of an endowment of considerable size would of course make certain the permanence of the work that has been begun by the Norwegian-American Historical Association. Funds are needed, and it is hoped that in not a few cases bequests will be made to the association for the enlargement of its permanent fund. The following form of bequest has been suggested:

Being in sympathy with the movement to preserve the records and make public the historical facts pertaining to the Norwegian-American people, I hereby give and bequeath unto the Norwegian-American Historical Association, incorporated under the laws of Minnesota, the sum of ..... dollars, to be paid in due course of the administration of my estate.

Signed.....